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ABSTRACT

The public library is part of a large and complex network of institutions which provide nontraditional, continuing education to adults. Attempts have been made to ally these institutions in a single coordinated approach to community-based education, the ideal being a "communiversity"--a federation of all the educational and cultural forces of a community to serve all age levels. The public library has a long tradition of informal adult education, based on three differenct conceptions of its service role: (1) the full spectrum view, which holds that the library should provide a full range of educational services; (2) the elitist view, which would concentrate service on the educated population; (3) and the activist view, which feels that the public library should take the initiative for the improvement of the community or its residents. From these three conceptions many modes of educational service have been devised. The key problem of the public library as an educational institution is that many librarians, and most citizens, do not realize that it is a center of learning. Librarians, through improvement of their own programs and more active collaboration with other institutions, can alter this picture. (SL)

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THE PUBLIC LIBRARY'S ROLE IN NON-TRADITIONAL STUDY

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Teachers College, Columbia University
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Prepared
by

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Division of Library Programs
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A library is not a laboratory, a schoolroom, or a lecture platform - it is a library; and the librarian is not a research worker, a social worker, a teacher, or a public speaker - he is a librarian. To be sure, he may at one time or another assume any one of these roles, but he is not then, in the true sense, acting as a librarian. . . . The unique function for which the library profession has assumed responsibility, the true essence of librarianship, if you will, is the maximization of the effective use of graphic records for any purpose that contributes to the dignity, beauty, and strength of human endeavor. As all the activities of society come to depend to an ever-increasing extent upon all forms of secondary communication, and particularly upon graphic records, the library profession must interact ever more closely with a diverse variety of those individuals and groups of which society is composed. Only through a clear and constant recognition of his own unique responsibility can the librarian hope to maintain the unity, the integrity, and the effectiveness of his services.

Jesse H. Shera

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I

The Network of Adult Education

The public library is part of a large and complex network of providers of non-traditional education. The nature of this network can as yet be only dimly seen since the separate parts so dominate the whole that inter-connections often appear temporary, invisible, non-existent, or even mutually repellant. Libraries, universities, community colleges, schools, industry, organized labor, government, voluntary associations, museums, proprietary schools, and many other institutions have their independent programs but enough bridges have been thrown across the chasms which separate them so that interactive frameworks are beginning to appear.

Such frameworks have been designed to achieve many purposes and motives but their sponsors are centrally concerned with the idea of basic, continuing, or recurrent education throughout the life span. This conception, in its broadest form, includes not only infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, but also the influences exerted by pre-birth factors such as genetic coding. This paper will not deal, however, except incidentally, either with heredity or with that immense and chaotic cluster of institutions and activities by which the newborn are brought to physiological and social maturity. The scope instead is limited to the organized and purposeful learning

which occurs in adulthood, the time of life which begins when the full responsibilities of citizenship are assumed and when the individual has left the structured life of formal schooling. The beginning-point of adulthood cannot be precisely identified but ordinarily it falls in the period from the eighteenth to the twenty-fifth year of life. The ending-point may be abrupt and signalized by death; or it may be gradual as senescence overcomes the capacity to learn.

The framework of relationships among institutions is essentially different in maturity, the longest and socially the most important period of human existence, from that which prevails in childhood and youth. In the earlier years, age-graded schools, colleges, and universities are the dominant formal ways of providing education. Other organized instructional agencies, though numerous and often powerful, occupy secondary and sometimes satellite roles; in many places, they may not even exist. But none of the social institutions which offer learning to adults dominates the field. In many of them such service is administered as a partial, even peripheral, segment of their total task. Therefore the objectives and the procedures of collaboration are manifold and constantly changing, but the very nature of the parallel existence of these institutions means that they cannot achieve their fullest potential unless they fit their varied resources together harmoniously in the education of adults.

This paper therefore varies the customary procedure of concentrating first upon a single agency, in this case the public library, and then moving outward to survey its work with its

collaborators. Instead the outlines of the emerging network of non-traditional adult education will be examined and then a close and detailed scrutiny will be given to that central node of inter-connections with other institutions which the library must inevitably become.

II

The Grand Design of Non-Traditional Education

The term "non-traditional education" has become a symbol signifying far more than its component words suggest. It does not imply a rejection of past practices but an active effort to put into effect the best of new practices. It was first given currency by the Commission on Non-Traditional Study whose members, in the words of their Chairman, Samuel B. Gould, "seemed to sense the areas of education around which our interests centered." He went on to say, "This community of concern was a mysterious light in the darkness, yet not at all mysterious in retrospect" and defined the term "non-traditional" as "more an attitude than a system." He continued:

> This attitude puts the student first and the institution second, concentrates more on the former's need than the latter's convenience, encourages diversity of individual opportunity rather than uniform prescription, and deemphasizes time, space, and even course requirements in favor of competence and, where applicable, performance. It has concern for the learner of any age and circumstance, for the degree aspirant as well as the person who finds sufficient reward in enriching life through constant, periodic, or occasional study.[1]

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[1] Samuel B. Gould, "Preface" in Commission on Non-Traditional Study, Diversity by Design, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973. xv

Even as the Commission on Non-Traditional Study was undertaking its own deliberations, other individuals and groups were reaching the same general conclusion. The presidents of the University of Notre Dame, the Rochester Institute of Technology, and Michigan State University joined in concluding, after lengthy separate inquiries, that "The center of educational gravity in society is shifting away from educational institutions toward informal learning, continuing education outside of school in the community, and self-learning without formal structures or conventional teachers."[1] The Organisation for Economic and Co-operative Development is undertaking studies of what it calls "recurrent education," and the Unesco Institute of Education in Hamburg, Germany, is attempting to assess various strategies of lifelong education. Neither of these latter efforts has yet been brought into fruitful conjunction with practice in the United States but it seems likely that some coherent interaction will eventually occur.

Of all the many studies, the one which dwells most fully and profoundly with the matters considered in this present paper is the so-called "Faure report,"[2] in which, on behalf of Unesco, seven of the world's leading educator-statesmen, using their own wisdom as well as memoranda from more than seventy-five specialists in education, designed a master plan for education throughout the world during the balance of the twentieth century.

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[1]Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Paul A. Miller, and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., Patterns for Lifelong Learning, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973. xi

[2]Edgar Faure and others. Learning to Be, Paris: Unesco; and London: Henry Harap, 1972.

The entire structure of this massive design is built on twenty-one principles. Some of the most relevant ones in the present connection are:

> 1. Every individual must be in a position to keep learning throughout his life. The idea of lifelong education is the keystone of the learning society. . . .
>
> 2. The dimensions of living experience must be restored to education by redistributing teaching in space and time. . . .
>
> 3. Education should be dispensed and acquired through a multiplicity of means. The important thing is not the path an individual has followed, but what he has learned or acquired. . . .
>
> 4. An over-all open education system helps learners to move within it, both horizontally and vertically, and widens the range of choice available to them. . . .
>
> 10. Expansion of higher education should lead to broad development of many institutions capable of meeting more and more individual and community needs. . . .
>
> 12. The normal culmination of the educational process is adult education. . . .
>
> 14. The new educational ethos makes the individual the master and creator of his own cultural progress. Self-learning, especially assisted self-learning, has irreplaceable value in any educational system. . . .
>
> 17. The teaching profession will not be in a position to fulfil its role in the future unless it is given, and develops itself, a structure better adapted to modern educational systems. . . .
>
> 18. One of the essential tasks for educators at present is to change the mentalities and qualifications inherent in all professions; thus they should be the first to be ready to rethink and change the criteria and basic situation of the teaching profession, in which the job of educating and stimulating students is steadily superseding that of simply giving instruction. . . .
>
> 19. Teaching, contrary to traditional ideas and practice, should adapt itself to the learner; the learner should not have to bow to pre-established rules for teaching.[1]

[1] Ibid., 181-223.

These ten principles and the eleven others advanced by the Faure commission suggest or reinforce the importance of such non-school institutions as the public library. The individual is put at the heart of the process, precisely where the library puts him. Teaching is distributed in time and space, not concentrated in the regular periods of instruction of schools and colleges. Learning takes place not merely in class-rooms and other group settings but by a great variety of means. Students do not necessarily move programmatically up a ladder but in many directions, both horizontally and vertically, as seems best to them. Higher education no longer remains the sole province of the university or the university-like institution and its scope broadens out to include much new content. The major period of life is adulthood, not childhood, and it is in adulthood that the educational process should be most frequently found. The individual sometimes directs his own education but he often needs assistance in doing so. The teaching professions must adapt themselves to these new ideas or they cannot survive; in particular they must consider their primary task to be education and stimulation, not instruction. Most profoundly of all, however important the institution may be, the learner must remain paramount.

Within the framework of this conception, public librarians (like many of their colleagues in other kinds of institutions) are as fully and completely to be considered educators as are school teachers and university professors and must acquire both the capacity and the confidence which enables them to carry out

their proper role in the emerging learning society. Furthermore all educators, whatever their employing institution may be, must learn to work in familiar association with one another.

The new era of collaborative effort can exist most richly in highly developed societies because of the breadth and depth of their resources but a nation should not pass through a stage of separatist development of institutions before building the integrated network which can provide for a full-scale education. This point has been frequently made by those who have studied the institutions of the developing nations, but the Faure commission has brought the idea together into a world-wide compass. At the end of a pasage dealing with the growth of schools, the commission notes:

> To have a complete view of the global situation in education, we must add to the school growth indicated above the increase in innumerable out-of-school activities. These comprise edacational radio and television broadcasts (public or private), adult literacy programmes, people's universities, correspondence courses, a multiplicity of cultural activities, study circles, etc. To these may be added diverse educational activities on the vocational level, mainly in the industrialized countries: apprenticeship programmes, workers' promotion courses, advanced training and conversion courses, management training schemes and seminars, etc. And media available orpotentially available for educational purposes, in the broad sense of the term, are by no means limited to strictly defined educational activities and methods. These also include: the press (7,980 daily newspapers of general interest, with a total printing of 350 million papers, plus 615 million copies of periodicals); books (487,000 titles published in 1968); libraries (798,297 national, public, school, university and specialized establishments) containing some 5,000 million volumes; 14,374 museums, visited by hundreds of millions of people annually; 674 million radio sets, receiving programmes from 18,850 transmitting stations, and about 250 million television receivers picking up 13,140 stations; and films distributed to a network comprising some 252,000 cinemas.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 37.

Even these massive figures leave out of account many programs of great size, including: the work of government departments dealing with agriculture, health, welfare, defense and other functions; the education carried out by churches and other religious practices and structures; and the personality-forming processes of acculturation which are present in every society in the operation of its rites and rituals.

III

The Definitions Allied to Adult Education

As has already been noted, this paper deals only with education during adulthood, a period of life whose beginning is hard to establish but in which the individual has become personally and socially responsible for his actions. Of the definitions of adult education and its allied phrases, there is no end, but, since a formal statement is desirable here, the term will be used very broadly to signify the process by which men and women (alone, in groups, or in institutional settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill, their knowledge, or their sensitiveness; or any process by which individuals, groups, or institutions try to help men and women to improve themselves in these ways.[1]

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[1]This definition has been slightly adapted from one developed by the present author for use in his book, The Design of Education San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972. 229

Within the broad term, there fall several subordinate expressions, somewhat overlapping but clear enough in their central conceptions to be used with some precision. "Basic education" has to do with the conveying of fundamental skills, knowledge, and competency, either generally so far as the root capacities of literacy are concerned or specifically so far as the elementary knowledge in a single discipline or career line is conveyed. Thus an individual can initiate the study of algebra or of law in the adult years; for him, they are essentially basic education. "Continuing education" is concerned with advancing some knowledge, skill, or sensitiveness for which the foundation has already been established in childhood or adulthood. Thus anybody who knows the fundamentals of an art, a science, or a profession may engage in continuing education to maintain or advance his basic capacities. The term also usually imples a fairly regular and systematic effort of this sort. "Intermittent education" implies a periodic or occasional concentration upon study during which intensive learning is undertaken, thereby interrupting the flow of customary existence. The idea of the professorial sabbatical year is inherently one of intermittent learning as was the "quinquennial brain-dusting" which Sir William Osler advocated for workers in the professions.[1] These three terms supplement one another. An engineer may engage in a basic study of the fine arts by taking a survey course, in continuing education by reading journals, attending courses and

[1] William Osler, Aequinimitas London: Lewis, 1906. 434-35

conferences, and otherwise keeping abreast of his field, and in intermittent education by periodically devoting his time to intensive study of some body of knowledge.

The term "extension" is often used in three different senses: as public relations for an "established" program whatever it may be, as one or more activities which carry such "established" services to new clienteles, or as a synonym for new forms of education. A lengthy discussion of the term as applied to public libraries is given by Harold Jolliffe, who then uses it in all three ways to categorize and describe services established in various countries but chiefly in the United Kingdom.[1] The term will not be used in this paper, partly because of the variability of current usage but chiefly because an effort is here made to assess the total adult educational function of the public library which includes both "established" and novel aspects of its work.

Ultimately, perhaps, a lifelong design for education will emerge, much as the "educational ladder" has taken shape in the schooling of children and youth. Several particular designs have been rather carefully worked out in specific professions, especially those whose relatively closed nature means that a plan can be effectively accomplished. The best example may perhaps be found in the military officer corps, and particularly in the Air Force, where a systematic alternation between duty assignments

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[1] Harold Jolliffe, Public Library Extension Activities Second Edition. London: The Library Association, 1968. This book is an excellent and practical "how-to-do-it" manual, with countless specific suggestions about matters which those who gaze only on the cosmic picture are likely to ignore.

and education occurs, first basically and then both continuously and intermittently. Scholars, both individually and collectively, are now beginning to build a broader design to encompass all of life, but their efforts are not yet far enough along to be useful so far as this paper is concerned.

IV

The Major Forms of Co-ordination

In the far distance glitters the dream of a wholly co-ordinated approach to community-based education, each institution performing its own functions but harmonizing its work with those of all other organizations. To such an ideal state of being, Samuel B. Gould gave the name "communiversity," building on an older meaning of the word "university" as including the entire structure of formal public and private institutions. (The term is now used in this sense in this country only by the University of the State of New York.) "The university of the future," Gould predicted, "will be a loose federation of all the educational and cultural forces of a community - at every age level. It will be a coordinated educational entity serving a single, fairly large community or a single, compact region." In its ultimate expression, this institution

> will integrate all the community's resources to the intellectual and aesthetic needs of its people. It will offer a greater hope to all minority groups than they can look to within present structures. It is bound to cause some sort of teaching or educational and cultural involvement from nearly everyone as both a learner or a preceptor. It will offer presently lacking strength to the community's

cultural agencies, because they will be part of the regular pattern of education and will, therefore, be more willingly supported.[1]

Since in any presently conceivable American social order, the communiversity is not likely to be created by a piece of legislation or an administrative fiat, a gradual approach is essential. At least three major strategies appear possible: consolidation, collaboration, and the creation of new co-ordinating mechanisms.

Consolidation.- The consolidation of agencies in a community - particularly the public and the school libraries - is so obvious and, to its proponents, so clear-cut a way to increase efficiency and reduce cost that the idea seems to rise spontaneously again and again. In a number of situations, it has been put into practice and the consequences in the past have usually led experienced public librarians to shudder at the thought. The literature is full of papers which parallel the advantages and disadvantages of such a scheme. The number and power of the latter (as well as horror stories derived from experience) lead many public library authorities to the conclusion that the idea of consolidation has been tried and found wanting.[2]

But as the idea of the communiversity comes closer to reality, and as the era of almost-unplanned expansion draws to a close, new voices are raised among both librarians and educators

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[1] Samuel B. Gould, Today's Academic Condition New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970. 90-92.

[2] For a compilation of papers and abstracts on this topic, see Public Libraries and School Libraries, a mimeographed publication issued by the Kitchener (Canada) Public Library Board.

asking why consolidation of structure and service cannot be a feasible alternative to present provisions. A conference sponsored jointly by the American Library Association and the National Education association included a number of hard-hitting comments on the point.[1] The issue was succinctly stated by J. Lloyd Trump in a series of rhetorical questions:

> As schools and libraries get closer together in function as educational agencies, why are they still separate? If they are to be both alike, why do we waste time and money on separate schools and libraries? Separately trained personnel? Separate boards and taxing bodies? Where does one stop, and the other begin? Who owns 4:30 P.M.? Who owns Saturday? Sunday? Who owns July?

In the conference, many reports, anecdotes, and proposals were given, including an account of a program in Olney, Texas, entitled "Merger without Jeopardy." While countless reservations were made, distinctions drawn, and differences expressed, the conferees made formal recommendations that a number of alternative plans for consolidation or very close co-ordination should be undertaken and evaluated. Within the context of the discussion, it was clear that some people were centering their attention on services to children and young people, but others, probably the majority, recognized that co-ordination would involve the full range of services of the library to the total population.

Collaboration.- In modern American society, the instruments and institutions of adult education still have such distinct separate entities that the investigator must search to find ways

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[1] Total Community Library Service, edited by Guy Garrison. Chicago: American Library Association, 1973.

by which their services are gradually being woven together. The patterns are variable as to both time and place and most of them have still not achieved the stability of established administrative controls or of firm financing. But many evidences may be found of a movement toward communiversity. A university extension division collaborates with the evening programs of nearby community colleges and public schools. Industrial and labor union training departments collaborate with technical institutes, though ordinarily on separate programs. The armed forces have entered into vigorous collaboration with educational institutions both at home and abroad, wherever American service men are stationed around the world. The objectives, like the procedures, of these forms of collaboration are multitudinous but they all express a common desire to fit varied resources together harmoniously in the service of education.

Collaboration takes three major forms: the multi-lateral, the bi-lateral, and the unilateral. In multi-lateral programs, a number of institutions of similar or diverse forms work together usually in the service of a defined community or a specified clientele. Thus all of the adult educational institutions in a town may collaborate in a complex program of service to the general community. Similarly, a university, a hospital system, and several professional societies may offer continuing education to physicians. In such cases, the design is likely to be complex since highly varied and constantly changing institutions seek ways to mesh services of a divergent structure and purpose. In

a bi-lateral program - where, for example, a museum and a voluntary association work together - the purposes and techniques may resemble those of multi-lateral co-ordination, but the two institutions confront each other directly. In unilateral collaboration, a single institution - such as a governmental health agency - may work continuously or sporadically with many other organizations and associations, accepting the responsibility for initiating and maintaining the relationship.

Many reasons have been advanced to explain the growth of such forms of collaboration as have occurred. Some explanations rest on the advanced schooling of the population itself and consequently its greater awareness of the importance of education, its capacity to undertake learning, and its familiarity with the various instruments and methods of study and instruction. A second group of explanations rests on the growing maturity and sophistication of the institutions themselves and particularly upon their employment of highly trained educators of adults and the use of continuing professional education for present staff members. By the end of 1973, at least 1,405 persons had secured doctorates in adult education in American and Canadian universities. The number of people with masters' degrees in this field, though uncounted, is also substantial. Most persons with advanced training are administrators, program specialists, and other animateurs (as the French call them) who are familiar with the complexities of their multi-purpose, multi-method field. The third group of explanations is based upon a heightened feeling in our society that duplication of

resources and gaps of service should not be allowed to exist if a remedy for them can be found, a feeling which is powerfully reinforced by financing authorities, either governmental or private.

All three forms of collaboration, even among institutions of the same sort, are hard to plan and maintain. Even when substantial advances occur, they are often followed by retreats particularly when the creative figures who originate a plan retire, depart, or are transferred, or when the special funds which financed the venture are all spent. In the past, collaboration has sometimes been undertaken for comprehensive purposes, often with complete plans and vast hopes, but it could not be said that any such ventures have been successful. The community adult education council has been tried for the last fifty years in an endless variety of patterns but while it survives in some places, no successful formula has yet been found to make it thrive. Collaboration has also been tried for highly specific purposes - such as public relations, the joint sponsorship of programs, or the mutual facilitation of activities - and here success has sometimes been more evident and lasting than in the case of comprehensive all-community endeavors. But candor compels the statement that despite ceaseless effort, few wholly successful and enduring examples of collaboration can be cited.

This deficiency is made all the more striking when adult education is compared with social welfare or the emerging patterns of health care. No social worker would believe that the best possible pattern of community organization has yet been achieved

and experts on the delivery of health services are even more caustic about accomplishments in their own field. Yet it cannot be denied that both fields - and particularly welfare - have co-ordinating councils, special referral services, widespread involvement in interactive programs, and advanced systems of funding. To be sure, the three functions are so differently organized that comparisons must be limited. Collaboration in adult education must rise out of the inherent nature of the field itself and not through borrowing. Nonetheless, the relatively greater success of both social welfare and health care in this respect highlights the fact that education still has a very long way to go before it reaches anything that might be called a communiversity.

Creation of New Mechanisms.- In the past, often by the exercise of unilateral collaboration, a single agency has tried to bring about a greater co-ordination of effort in the field. The literature of the community college stresses the broad guidance function of that institution and that of the public library emphasizes that it should be the source of communications materials and program-planning expertise for all other agencies.

Since the end of World War II, there has been a substantial growth of wholly new programs and services which bridge the gap between or among agencies. The General Educational Development test has been administered under both military and civilian auspices and is now accepted by all fifty state educational authorities as providing the basis for either a high school diploma or its equivalent, thus knitting together the efforts

of thousands of institutions to serve millions of students. In higher education, the College-Level Examination Program and the College Proficiency Examination Program have had a similar effect and the Educational Testing Service initiated in 1974 a rigorous study of new devices to assess the educational impact of experience. The American Council on Education, through its Commission on Accreditation of Service Experience assigned college-level credit for military courses and now with a new name, Commission on Educational Credit, will perform the same service for other governmental agencies, and for industries and other private bodies.

The new mechanisms go far beyond the assessment of credit, however. A consortium of educational institutions has created The Central New York Regional Learning Service which is an independent counseling center where adults who seek education can be guided to the agency which can best serve them and then act as intermediary between that adult and that agency. New patterns of awarding degrees and certificates have been devised, most of which fit together credentials of different sorts derived from many different institutions; some of these patterns are offered by existing agencies but some of them have required the creation of new organizations.

Later in this paper, the influence of some of these new co-ordinating mechanisms will be described, particularly as they influence the public library, but several general observations about them may be appropriate here. Most of them have dealt with the credit-granting, degree- or certificate-winning sector of

adult education, though they will undoubtedly broaden out in scope. They have all had concrete and specific programs of action, calling for expertise and requiring a special staff which possesses it. Most of them have been national, state, or regional in character not restricted to a community. The creativeness and inventiveness required to formulate them have been little short of astounding and there is no sign of abatement; every day brings new mechanisms and plans. And, finally and perhaps most significantly, most of the new ventures are not yet based upon sound and continuous sources of funding. They must still win their way to success by the brilliance of their accomplishment.

V

The Goals of the Public Library as an Independent Sponsor of Adult Education

The public library enters the emerging world of the communiversity with its own distinguished history of non-traditional adult education which is sometimes not given its proper recognition precisely because it is so broad and so familiar. In truth, public library leaders can say with justice that many of the ideas which other agencies find novel and promising are precisely those which have for so long characterized their own practices. But a new day is undeniably here and it has brought with it unfamiliar interpretations of the past and unexpected innovations concerning procedures.

In the balance of this paper, attention will be focussed squarely upon the library itself rather than upon the emerging communiversity of which it will be a part. Attention will first be turned to the major purposes which have been presented in the past century and a half and then to the closely allied topic of the modes of service which spring not only from the library's history but also from its newer efforts to provide non-traditional adult education.

It is sometimes said that the public library does not have any central guiding purpose. If it only had one (or so the argument runs) the entire institution would be transformed because its staff members would have a sense of common identity and an unerring guide to specific policies and procedures. The most frequently quoted statement of this point of view is that of Edward C. Banfield:

> The public library has more users and more money today than ever before, but it lacks a purpose. It is trying to do some things that it probably cannot do, and it is doing others that it probably ought not to do. At the same time, it is neglecting what may be its real opportunities. What the library needs is first, a purpose that is both in accord with the realities of present-day city life. . .and second, a program that is imaginatively designed to carry its purpose into effect.[1]

This observation is particularly interesting because, by noting that the library is "probably" committing sins of commission and omission, it seems to imply that Banfield has some idea about what the purpose should be but will not tell his readers what

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[1] Edward C. Banfield, "Needed: A Public Purpose" in The Public Library and the City, edited by Ralph W. Conant. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M. I. T. Press, 1965. 103

it is. Why not? As the following pages abundantly demonstrate, other people have not hesitated to do so.

The most straightforward and obvious view of the policy of the public library is that it should be readily available to everyone in the community, regardless of his or her personal characteristics, who wants to take advantage of its services. Most people take this ultimate and simple viewpoint for granted, limiting it only by a few common-sense restrictions such as denial of service to people whose intent is hostile or destructive or who seek material which library policy holds to be personally or socially dangerous or beyond the financial resources available. The concept of openness of access to virtually everyone with freedom of choice to the individual or the group to build a personally-desired program of reading is the central policy of the public library and all other approaches take for granted and build upon this solid foundation.

When the concept of positive library-initiated education is introduced, however, choices must be made as to what major emphases are to supplement the central policy. Ever since the provision of public libraries became a topic of discussion in the middle of the nineteenth century, ideas have been put forward which still remain lively topics for discussion. In this paper, the almost limitless views are grouped into three clusters. At one pole of opinion are the people who believe that the public library has, as its natural clientele, the citizens who are well-versed in the arts of communication; the staff of the institution should therefore bend its best efforts to serve such

people. At the other pole are activists who define some special need or sector of society which is not ordinarily favored by access to library service; usually a new program must be designed and maintained to suit the needs of the neglected. Probably most librarians and shapers of library policy occupy a full-spectrum position, hoping to design a variety of programs to suit many needs and reaching out from the center as far as possible toward both poles.

Among those who believe in each of these three major conceptions, certain more specific views are represented; they will be indicated in the following pages. Thus the full-spectrum conception is composed of those who hold the classic view and those who hold the rediscovery view. The elitist conception is made up of those who are of the opinion that the library was deliberately designed to serve this group and those who believe that matters just worked out that way. The activist conception is composed of at least four distinguishable views which overlap somewhat but each of which has a distinct core of meaning which defines it.

The full-spectrum conception.- Those who hold this conception of library-sponsored adult education might well have as their motto either "service to all" or "something for everybody." A modern library dominated by this idea would have all-community gatherings, would have points of service available everywhere in its area, would have a strong public relations program, and would have a well-worked-out conception of its sub-clienteles, paying due attention to each one.

The classical view.- For some librarians and policy-makers, the full-spectrum conception represents the accepted dream of the public library as being the instrument by which lifelong learning services are provided to all those who have acquired study skills and a basic fund of knowledge. In the books by Sidney H. Ditzion[1] and Robert Ellis Lee,[2] emphasis is placed again and again upon the primacy of the education of adults as the foundation stone of the American public library. Lee points out that other responsibilities - such as recreation and children's services - were developed subsquently, thereby turning the library into a multi-functional agency but that in its beginning, its purpose was purely adult educational. Both he and Ditzion reinforce this point with many quotations. One of these is the preamble to the 1851 Massachusetts Library Law. While this preamble did not appear in the final version of the statute, perhaps because its ideas seemed obvious, it is an excellent statement of the breadth and liberality of the point of view which led to the establishment of public library systems:

> Whereas, a universal diffusion of knowledge among the people must be highly conducive to the preservation of their freedom, a greater equalization of social advantages, their industrial success, and their physical, intellectual and moral advancement and elevation: and

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[1]Sidney Ditzion. Arsenals of a Democratic Culture. Chicago: American Library Association, 1947.

[2]Robert Ellis Lee. Continuing Education for Adults through the American Public Library, 1833-1964. Chicago: American Library Association, 1966.

> Whereas, it is requisite to such a diffusion of knowledge, that while sufficient means of a good early education shall be furnished to all the children in the Common Schools, ample and increasing sources of useful and interesting information should be provided for the whole people in the subsequent and much more capable and valuable periods of life: and
>
> Whereas, there is no way in which this can be done so effectively, conveniently and economically as by the formation of Public Libraries, in the several cities and towns of this Commonwealth, for the use and benefit of all their respective inhabitants:[1]

The legislation then proceeded to spell out its specifics in accordance with these lofty principles. As Ditzion and Lee make clear from many other quotations, the policy-makers of that period were essentially in harmony with the ideals of the preamble.

The classic view of the public library was further enhanced by the benefactions of Andrew Carnegie, whose vivid and dramatic gifts brought public libraries to many American communities. Carnegie's father had organized a library circle among his fellow weavers in Dunfermline, Scotland, and the resulting collection of books had become the town's first circulating library. Later, after the Carnegie family had migrated to Pittsburgh and Andrew was employed as a young telegrapher, he, along with other working boys, was given the opportunity to borrow books from the library of a Colonel Anderson of Allegheny. Later Andrew wrote "it was when reveling in the treasures which he opened to us that I resolved, if ever wealth came to me, that other poor boys might receive opportunities similar to those for which we were indebted to that noble man." Carnegie fulfilled this resolution so well that eventually he gave more than forty

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[1] op. cit., 18-19.

million dollars for the construction of 1,679 public library buildings in 1,412 American communities. Meanwhile he shrewdly assured himself of continuing support by negotiating only with the chief local elected officials, by requiring the community to provide a site, and by insisting on the pledge that at least ten per cent of the amount contributed by Carnegie be provided annually to maintain the library.[1]

In recent years, André Maurois has been a powerful spokesman of the classic view. In a sense, he goes beyond his predecessors in establishing the primacy of the public library. "I would go so far as to say, he observes, italicizing his comment, "that education is but a key to open the doors of libraries."[2]

The Re-discovery View.- Paralleling the classical view of the full-spectrum conception is another opinion which holds that while perhaps people in the past had an ideal of the public library as an instrument of adult education, they did so only in general terms or as the expected and obvious outcome of improved facilities and activities. Now, however, the re-discoverer points out, a new dynamism is being manifested. Librarians are being awakened to novel responsibilities, opportunities, and challenges. Such is the rhetoric in the early days of a re-discovery episode. The enthusiasm thus expressed may subsequently ebb away, but it can be translated into an enduring program in which the library is

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[1]The facts in this paragraph are all drawn from: George S. Bobinski, Carnegie Libraries Chicago: American Library Association, 1969.

[2]André Maurois, "Of books and Libraries," The Unesco Courier, 14 (May, 1961), 6

more sensitive than ever before to all the educational needs of all the people.

This point of view has been both expressed and put into perspective by Margaret E. Monroe in her book Library Adult Education: The Biography of an Idea. It is an historical and analytical account of the growth of the re-discovery of adult education in the early 1920s, the subsequent movement which went through three sequential stages - planned reading programs and readers' advisory services, services to community institutions, and library-sponsored group programs - and finally disappeared as it was absorbed into "the accepted body of public library service to adults" and became but one more aspect of a broader term "adult services."[1] A view similar to Monroe's was expressed by Jerome Cushman when he reported that the number of entries under the heading "adult education" in Library Literature had declined from seventy-seven in 1955-57 to twenty-two in 1958-60.[2]

A new era of re-discovery began sometime in the early 1960s, though it was then focussed on "continuing education," a term which was not restricted to the meaning given it in this essay but seemed to be a synonym for "adult education," which was perhaps thought to be somewhat shopworn in view of its recent history. A central conception of this "newer" viewpoint was that

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[1]Margaret Monroe, Library Adult Education: The Biography of an Idea, New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1963. p. 13.

[2]Jerome Cushman, "Public Library Service to Adults," Library Quarterly, 33 (January, 1963), p. 76.

the education of adults is not a set of goals or units or processes but a spirit which suffuses all the work of the public library. (A holder of the classical view might smile and refer to the original Preamble of the Massachusetts Library Law of 1851 but, since such a comment could hinder progress, he would probably abstain.) A basic manual on local public library administration announced in 1964 that "the major purpose of the public library is continuing education" and systematically carried out this idea throughout the book.[1] In many other ways, to be described later, this new episode is now being carried forward.

These two episodes have been national in scope but countless other local episodes have also occurred in communities, counties, regions, and states. The idea of adult education is constantly re-invented by creative librarians who, as a result of any of a number of stimuli, suddenly catch a glimpse of what their service might become if it were transformed by the idea of purpose. ince the goals and practices of adult education are not widely taught in library schools, it is not surprising that many people feel they are pioneers when they begin actively to serve the learning needs of the men and women of their communities.

The Elitist Conception.- Some people believe that the public library is an instrument by which a community's elite (distinguished either by social class or by general sophistication)

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[1] Local Public Library Administration, edited by Roberta Bowler. Chicago: The International City Manager's Association, 1964. p. vii.

is provided with learning materials at public expense.

The Deliberate-design View.- One view of this conception is that elitism is the working out of a pre-determined and continuing plan. Legend has it that some nineteenth century liberals opposed taxes for libraries on the ground that they were a burden placed on the poor to help the rich. This view has been systematically developed as a "revisionist interpretation of history" by Michael Harris, whose central thesis is that "public libraries were generally cold, rigidly inflexible, and elitist institutions from the beginning."[1] He argues that the classical view is a carefully-preserved myth designed to make librarians feel that they are in a great tradition of humaniterianism, even as they become technicians serving as the instruments of the ruling minorities of their communities. This service was not merely to provide the books desired by the members of these elites. It was also to reward with "uplifting literature" the worthy men - and perhaps, occasionally, women - whose values were the same as those of such pillars of society as Andrew Carnegie.

The original sources of the elitist tradition were modified with the passing years partly because new times and new values made it impossible to retain the old authoritarianism and partly because the art and science of public administration gave the public librarian a professional stature - and hence a sympathy for the "more worthy" patrons - he had never previously possessed.

[1]The most readily available statement of Harris' views is "The Purpose of the American Public Library," Library Journal, 98 (September 15, 1973). The quotations given here are taken from this paper.

The library's clientele remained comfortably elitist, and the philosophy of service could be encapsulated as "the right to know." To some people, this term can be made to sound bold and forthright, a vigorous defense of freedom from censorship. To the revisionist historian, however, it seems to be an effective statement of a neutral position, guaranteeing that all points of view will be available but protecting the librarian from the need to take sides and permitting him or her to maintain a passive role, as far as possible from the activist tradition of some of his colleagues.

To still others who hold this view, the founders of the public library were blameless, operating as they did within the democratic conceptions of their times and with no awareness of the modern meaning of elitism. As Richard Harwell and Roger Michener point out, the founders were "republicans exercising . . . the essence of liberalism of the Enlightenment as expressed in the American democratic order." The true source of elitism is that "the administration of the public libraries too soon fell into the hands of bureaucratic nitpickers who emphasized organization and routines over purpose."[1] Knowledgeable patrons knew how to use a library; all others stayed away.

The conscious choice of elitism is not only a product of history but is constantly being reinforced. Such, at any rate, is the belief of some librarians. The National Commission on Libraries and Information Service put forward in 1974 "A New

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[1]Richard Harwell and Roger Michener, "As Public as the Town Pump," Library Journal, 99 (April 1, 1974), 961.

National Program" which was welcomed by some librarians but was viewed with indignation by others. Mary Lee Bundy said that the plan "proposes extending funds to serve the interests of a relative few under the guise that everyone will be served," and Joseph Sakey was even stronger: "The Commission is saying, 'What's good for scholars, researchers, and bibliophiles is good for the country.' This kind of arrogance and pomposity is contrary to the basic philosophy and concept of free library systems. Libraries are for all people."[1]

The Analysis-of-Use View.- A second view of the elitist conception holds that it was not the product of a deliberate plan but rather that public libraries by their very nature seem to attract those who have achieved a ready familiarity with the media of communication. Therefore it is wise to accept this fact and focus attention on the natural clientele of the institution. Most of those who hold this view would probably regard the deliberate-design view as being vastly over-simplified, implying, as it does, a covert or implied conspiracy or the unenlightened actions of uninspired executives. Dedicated librarians have tried for many years to reach the poor, the ethnic minorities, the under-educated, the laboring classes, the dwellers in the slums and remote places, and all of the other men and women to whom the library has not provided adequate service. Yet - so the argument runs - these efforts do not have the impact which their proponents seek to achieve simply because people do not use a

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[1]"A New National Program of Library and Information Service," Library Journal, 99 (February 15, 1974), 449-457.

library until they have achieved a certain level of sophistication. Policy makers and staff members may as well accept the inevitable and make effective plans to aid the people who are going to be their chief clients regardless of efforts to change the over-all composition of that group.

The classical statement of the analysis-of-use elitist view was made in 1949 by Bernard Berelson in one of the volumes in a national study, the Public Library Inquiry. He coined the term "communications elite" to differentiate between the predominantly middle-class people who use the library and the small social elite of the community who ordinarily are not library patrons. While believing that the institution must be prepared to serve all the residents of its community, Berelson holds that "given its appropriate share of resources, administered to exploit its own unique strength within the community's system of communication, the public library over the years can make an effective contribution to the development and the enrichment of that cultural climate. And that is its proper task."[1]

Berelson's book was one of the most widely discussed volumes in the literature of librarianship and the response from the professionals was almost wholly negative. It was felt by his opponents that Berelson had made a serious error in arguing that what had been true in the past should be a proper guide for the policies of the future. A carefully reasoned reaction to his views (with a resonse by Berelson) was presented in A Forum on

[1] Bernard Berelson, The Library's Public. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. 135

the Public Library Inquiry.[1] He did not give ground on his basic position but did add the point that the determination of policy should always be a local rather than a national matter.

Librarians have not given ground, either. In a re-study in 1971 of the libraries closely examined by the Public Library Inquiry in the late 1940s, it was found that, while most of the predictions and projections had come true, the Berelson analysis "drew the greatest number of dissenters and is still debated and questioned."[2] James M. Hillard, on the other hand, has indicated in a recent paper that, by not following the Berelson recommendations, librarianship has become "A Profession Gone Mad."[3]

Whatever the opinions of librarians may be, the modern studies on library patronage still seem to bear out Berelson's conclusions. For example, Mary Lee Bundy made a study in 1966 of "the users of 100 library units in the eight library systems in metropolitan Maryland" asking randomly selected users to fill out a carefully-worded questionnaire. In all, 21,385 responses were secured. The report of her investigation is extensive and contains many shrewd observations which would be valuable not only to the specific libraries concerned but also to all public librarians everywhere. Her ultimate conclusion, however, is one

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[1] A Forum on the Public Library Inquiry, edited by Lester Asheim. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. 35-65.

[2] A Strategy for Public Library Change. Allie Beth Martin, Project Coordinator. Chicago: American Library Association, 1972. 11-12.

[3] Library Journal, 95 (January 1, 1970), 42

to which she obviously did not wish to come. She speaks with great satisfaction of the growth of the libraries studied and observes "When one considers the status of public library development in Maryland even ten years ago, the metropolitan libraries can view their progress with pride." But she is forced to go on to report with dismay that "Perhaps the chief issue raised by the survey is the public library's clientele composition. The most discouraging aspect of the survey was to discover that some twenty years after the Berelson study, the public library has not changed markedly in this respect. This period has seen major social changes to which we might have expected more fundamental and pronounced response on the part of public libraries."[1]

But the people served, elite though they may be, are far from unhappy with the service being provided to them. A team of investigators at Rutgers University, seeking to discover more refined performance measures than now exist, asked the librarians of 254 libraries stratified by size and geographic area what additional measures of quality they could suggest. The chief response was that the library needs measures of user satisfaction and user activity. "These librarians," the authors note, "were saying that the data currently collected is not people or user-oriented."[2] A subsequent detailed study by trained observers showed that user satisfaction is fairly high. About 70% of the

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[1]Mary Lee Bundy, Metropolitan Public Library Users, University of Maryland School of Library and Information Services, 114.

[2]Ernest R. DeProspo, Ellen Altman, and Kenneth E. Beasley. Performance Measures for Public Libraries. Chicago: American Library Association, 1973. 28

patrons indicated that they were satisfied and an additional 17% indicated that they were partially satisfied. Only about 7% were dissatisfied and the balance gave no indication of their feeling.

The Activist Conception.- The people who hold this conception believe that the staff of the public library should take the initiative to be active agents for the improvement of the community or the individuals who live in it. In this conception, the institution, while maintaining other services, essentially adds a new program or programs thus giving thrust and focus to its work. At least four rather dissimilar views of this conception have long been advocated.

The Individual Guidance View.- The advocate of this idea holds that many individuals do not know how to use the library effectively nor to make it a beginning point for the broader use of the communiversity. The earliest device for library adult education in the episode which began in the 1920s was the reader's advisor, an especially qualified librarian who was assigned to help individuals and groups use the library's resources to plan programs. Also, in large city central libraries, departmentation of collections made possible specialist librarians in art, music, education, business, and other subject-matter fields. In many libraries, however, though this view was often expressed, the work itself was supposed to be conducted by the entire staff. The final result, all too often, was that what was everybody's business was nobody's business.

The Humanitarian View.- The activists in this group hold that certain kinds of people in our society have many fewer options than do others and that the public library should try particularly hard to serve them. Some of the people who share this view have a number of different audiences in mind, such as black ghetto dwellers, other ethnic groups, the old, dwellers in rural areas, inmates of prisons, patients in sanitariums or hospitals, or factory workers.

An excellently written book as to how libraries may develop new sources of community contact is The Library Reaches Out, edited by Kate Coplan and Edwin Castagna. (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1965). Its particular virtue is that it stays very close to the practical approach, letting its theory be inferred from the countless new techniques it describes and fully embodying Mr. Castagna's epigraph, the comment by Jules Jusserand that "The future is not in the hands of Fate, but in ours."

As noted earlier, Mary Lou Bundy's study of Maryland metropolitan libraries showed how strongly middle class their patrons were. Contemplating this fact with some dismay, she observes "If the writer were to make one single recommendation as a result of this study, it would be that metropolitan libraries find a way to release the time - or obtain the services - of a number of highly specialized reference librarians so they could look into the needs and evolve a plan of service on a regional and broader basis for selected groups in the state. . . .It is both the task and the responsibility of professional leadership to modify, adapt and

to advance programs of service and its own view of commitments and responsibilities even when the culture fails to exert pressure for such a change."[1]

To those who share the humanitarian view, the largest and most troublesome body of non-users is made up of the complex clusters of people who subsist on low incomes, have had little or no formal schooling, live in segregated or sub-standard housing, engage in unskilled or semi-skilled labor or are on relief, and have had limited exposure to cultural stimuli. Library use is not part of the patterns of life of such people though many creative programs and some research have been devoted to ways of reaching them. A later section of this paper devoted to techniques will deal broadly with the methodologies used, but the varieties of techniques are widely described in the literature. Three useful sources are:

Public Library Services for the Functionally Illiterate, edited by Peter Hiatt and Henry T. Drennan. Chicago: American Library Association, 1967.

Helen Huguenor Lyman, "Reading and the Adult New Reader," Library Trends, 22, (October, 1973), 197-216

Lowell Martin, Baltimore Reaches Out: Library Services to the Disadvantaged Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1967

The Social Problems View.- The people who hold this belief are strongly convinced that society has certain ills, some of them long-recognized and some of them recently-emerged. Usually the proponents of this view have in mind such problem areas as ethnic and sexual discrimination, crime, low standards of political

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[1] op. cit., 116-117.

morality, pollution, specific international antagonisms, and inflation. Communities and states may also have such inadequacies as a low level of appreciation of the arts and humanities, failure to understand the necessity of over-all community planning, and the incapacity of some sectors of the public to play their proper roles in social and political life. Education is only one of the solutions to such problems, but the library should use its influence to deal with them. The institution must maintain basic services, but its staff should be free to select the social problems it believes to be most important and allocate some of its resources to help in their solution.

This view has been presented in library discussion for at least a half-century but it reached its peak in the Library-community Project sponsored by the American Library Association which, by an elaborate process of action research, involved many institutions in analyses of needs and desires for services.[1] This process was further advanced ten years later when a major study of Indiana public library service was carried out on the idea that the institution should serve as a vital agent in achieving community change.[2]

The Credential-assisting view.- The proponents of this activist conception stress the great assistance which the public

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[1]Studying Your Community. Chicago: American Library Association, 1960

[2]Peter Hiatt, "How Do You Change a Change Agent?" Library Occurrent, 23 (May, 1970), 191-204.

library can provide to adults who want to establish formal academic or other accomplishments. At a minimum it can provide materials and some guidance in using them, as it already does so abundantly to school, college, and university students. It can also provide guidance to help individuals to find other sources of help and information. And, as will be described later, the local public library can become a study center of a wholly new sort. Many librarians do not like the idea of the formalization of the adult learning process, holding that ideally it should be undertaken for its own sake, but those who do advance the credential-assisting view counter with the observation that since many adults want such formal recognition, it should be accorded to them.

The Choice of Goals in Specific Situations.- As has already been noted, the foregoing conceptions and views represent only a few of the general ideas about the proper functions of the public library. How shall the decision be made as to which of them are to be accepted as dominant? In answering this question, note should be taken of at least three propositions.

First, the decision about goals must be made individually by each separate library or library network and it is safe to say that, in every case, the answer will represent something of a struggle first in decision-making and then in resolute implementation. The task of the public library in identifying and achieving its purposes is caused, paradoxically enough, by the attribute it prizes most highly: its freedom. Other kinds of libraries, though they often have independent programs devised by their staffs, also have external guides to set their major

courses of action. In colleges and schools, it is the teaching faculty. In major universities, it is the established patterns of research effort. In specialized libraries, it is the specialism itself. But the public library, with its freedom to develop activities for any or all of the community, sometimes has great difficulty in identifying which elements of service are most worth concentrating upon.

For a library staff cannot do everything. Every library has one mode of educational service which it must perform, the provision of the means of learning for the individual adult who asks for such service. In addition to this essential function, others may be added. Bernard Berelson once observed that "In my opinion objectives should be discussed, debated, experimentally applied, and changed on the local level, in the individual library. It is here that the clarification and application will come if it is to come at all - in terms of particular local circumstances, differing from place to place."[1] This discussion is, to be sure, always determined by the milieu of the library, the kinds of learners its staff hopes to reach, the material resources available, the objective to be sought, and the availability of the special capacities required to carry out any proposed program design. (This last element may require some explanation; it suggests that, for example, a library should not carry out a counseling service without trained counselors or a discussion program without individuals who are competent to lead discussions.)

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[1] A Forum on the Public Library Inquiry, op. cit., 64-65

But in balancing out these factors, the library staff must use judgment tempered by trial-and-error. Ultimately the program which best suits a community is determined by the art with which the library's policy-makers and staff members apply the general principles and tested practices of librarianship to serve their own distinctive requirements.

Second, a library's objectives must always be complex. Even when it is nothing more than a book-dispensing station, several different functions can be readily perceived. When a bookmobile is dispatched into a given area, it contains items which will make a general appeal to its total clientele, it has some items which appeal to special clienteles (i.e., books in Spanish for Mexican-Americans) it responds to certain requests made on a previous visit, it refers patrons to the larger collections of the main library, its attendant may provide unobtrusive guidance to people who need help in choosing books, and efforts may be made to refer people to other learning opportunities even if only by displaying posters or distributing catalogs. In branch and central libraries, the modes of service may be even more complex than those possible in a bookmobile. Anybody who argues that there is only one right way for a library to furnish service is mis-perceiving the inherent variety of functions which staff members must perform.

Third, insofar as possible, programs should be based upon the expressed or perceived needs of their patrons and much research has been done on how to assess such requirements for help. Helen Huguenor Lyman, for example, has recently surveyed a number of

studies which deal with the kinds of information most desired by various groups of adult new readers, people who tend to be underserved by the public library,[1] and such information is invaluable for all public librarians who wish to concentrate on this type of service.

So far as adults in general are concerned, a major piece of research on learning "orientations" - the general attitudes men and women possess concerning further study, not the specific motivations which lead them to undertake any particular program - has been reported by Paul Burgess, who demonstrated by a factor analysis of many carefully selected statements of motives that at least seven such orientations exist.[2] In connection with the work of the Commission on Non-Traditional Study, a survey was conducted of the learning interests and experiences of adult Americans.[3] The data are based on a representative national sample of the approximately 104 million persons aged 18 to 60 who, in mid-1972 when the study was conducted, were living in private households in the continental United States and who were not full-time students. Of this group, 31% had actually participated in some sequential learning activity during the previous twelve months and 77% said that there was something they would

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[1]Helen Huguenor Lyman, "Reading and the Adult New Reader," Library Trends, 22 (October, 1973), 197-216

[2]Paul Burgess, "Reasons for Adult Participation in Group Educational Activities," Adult Education, 22, no. 1, 1971.

[3]This study was conducted by Abraham Carp, Richard Peterson, and Pamela Roelfs and is reported in: K. Patricia Cross, John R. Valley, and Associates, Planning Non-Traditional Programs San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974.

like to learn. The authors of the national survey took certain key statements which Burgess had shown to have a high predictability as indicators of basic orientations, added several statements which it was thought might reflect other orientations, and administred the resulting list to the national sample. The results are shown in Table 1. The numbered items represent the basic orientations toward learning which aduits feel, the first seven being those identified by Burgess. Only the lettered reasons were presented to the respondents and were given in a randomized order.

In interpreting Table 1, it must be kept in mind that the two groups dealt with are not discrete. The extent of the overlap is presumably substantial, for the would-be learners probably include a very large number of the actual learners. Perhaps it is for this reason that such a close correspondence exists between the two groups so far as the percentages are concerned. A few additional observations may be noted. The desire to know is the most powerful orientation of both groups. Many more would-be learners than learners profess the desire to reach a social goal. The desire to feel a sense of belonging is naturally greater among would-be participants than among participants. In general, the reasons for wanting to learn are more numerous among those who say they want to learn than among actual participants. The skeptic would assert, probably with a strong measure of truth, that the spread of motives among the former group indicates diffuseness, lack of direction, and, probably, lack of depth of conviction.

Table 1. Reasons for Learning Given by Active Learners and Would-Be Learners

	Active Learners %	Would-be Learners %
1. The desire to know		
a. Become better informed, personal enjoyment, enrichment	55	56
b. Curiosity, learn for the sake of learning	32	35
2. The desire to reach a personal goal		
a. Help get a new job	18	25
b. Help to advance in present job	25	17
c. Work toward certification of licensing	14	27
d. Work toward a degree	9	21
3. The desire to reach a social goal		
a. Better understand community problems	9	17
b. Become a more effective citizen	11	26
c. Work toward solution of social problems	9	16
4. The desire to reach a religious goal		
a. Be better able to serve my church	10	12
b. Improve my spiritual well-being	13	19
5. The desire to take part in a social activity		
a. Meet new people	18	19
b. Feel a sense of belonging	9	20
6. The desire to escape		
a. Get away from the routine of daily living	19	19
b. Get away from personal problems	7	11
7. The desire to comply with formal requirements		
a. Meet requirements for getting into an educational program	4	13
b. Meet requirements of employer or other authority	27	24
8. The desire for personal fulfillment		
a. Be a better parent, husband, or wife	19	30
b. Become a happier person	26	37
9. The desire for social and cultural knowledge		
a. Learn more about my own background and culture	8	14
10. Other, no response	5	18

This table also suggests what other studies have proved. People participate in learning for many reasons. It has also been shown by much research that the reason for studying some topic cannot be inferred from its content. Nothing in the list of motives in the table is completely bound to a field of study, though the relationship to some subjects, such as vocational, religious, or family life education, may be closer in some cases than it is to other subjects. But, as experienced librarians know, any book may be read for a variety of reasons and simple ascriptions of motives are likely to be useless in planning programs.

These orientations to adult education have a certain universality which lends confidence to their acceptance. Roger Boshier, a New Zealand scholar, found six factors (social relationships. external expectations, social welfare, professional advancement, escape/stimulation, and cognitive interest) which are closely related to those discovered by Burgess.[1] A replication of Boshier's study in the United States found that the same factors emerged.[2]

While public librarians in developing their programs cannot work on a mechanistic basis, matching up an activity to a motive or an orientation, it is useful to them to have a conceptualization of the dominant ideas in the minds of the people whom they

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[1]Roger Boshier, "Motivational Orientations of Adult Education Participants: A Factor Analytic Exploration of Houle's Typology," Adult Education, 21, no. 2, 1971. 3-26

[2]Barry R. Morstain and John C. Smart, "Reasons for Participation in Adult Education Courses: A Multivariate Analysis of Group Differences," Adult Education, 24, no. 2, 1974. 83-98.

generally serve as well as the particular audiences to whom they direct their special efforts. The very sketchy account of motivational studies given above does not do justice to them or to others like them, but a direct study of this literature is likely to create insights into practice and into the breadth of human purposes in learning which cannot be acquired in any other way and which is essential for effective service. "A modern public library," André Maurois once said, "is . . . an active, dynamic institution. It goes half-way to meet the reader, anxious to know his needs and meet them, and to attract him by offering various ways and means of obtaining information, cultivating his mind, and finding relaxation."[1] Sometimes it must go much more than half-way.

VI

Modes of Adult Educational Service in the Public Library

While it seems logical to begin by identifying objectives and then choosing the best means to achieve them, practicing librarians sometimes seem to work better if they first define modes of service and only later construct them into systems. An eminent foreign librarian once observed: "On the continent of Europe, our practice is based on our theory; in England and the United States, the theory is based on the practice."[2] A good

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[1] op. cit., 7

[2] Quoted in: Cyril O. Houle, Librarians in Adult and Fundamental Education. Paris: Unesco, 1951. 19

many theorists of education, including John Dewey, have suggested that the only valid tests of good practice are in continuity of development in terms of constantly shifting and enlarging values and close interaction between the learning system and the external environment in which it operates.[1] Consequently a good many librarians (like a good many educators in other fields) feel more comfortable in improvising new practices and activities to seve the needs of their clienteles than they do in setting up a master design and following its parts out to their logical conclusions. They prefer to start not with purposes or theories but with conceptions of learner motivation and modes of service and it is to such conceptions and modes (the means, as it were, rather than the ends) that this paper now turns.

No recent studies have been made of the extent and scope of library adult education activities. The most recent available statistical analysis was presented in a study of 1,692 libraries whose directors were asked in the early 1950s[2] to respond to a questionnaire on this subject. A list of thirty-seven services were suggested, each of which called for the library staff to take some initiative. It was found that all of these activities were being used somewhere and that twenty services were being used in 20% or more of the libraries surveyed. They were:

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[1] For an exposition of Dewey's thought see Experience and Education New York: Macmillan, 1938.

[2] Helen Lyman Smith. Adult Education Activities in Public Libraries. Chicago: American Library Association, 1954, 17.

	%
Exhibits and displays within the library	88.2
Book talks	66.8
Advice in program planning	65.5
Exhibits and displays outside the library	57.9
Participant in planning community-sponsored programs	57.8
Promotes and publicizes the library's activities	54.0
Uses library's services to emphasize special subjects	50.5
Supplies printed materials in duplicate quantities	50.2
Supplies physical facilities as needed	47.8
Maintains a central source of information about adult education opportunities in the community	38.1
Offers programs and activities based on books and other materials	36.9
Maintains information service about film and other audio visual aids	36.4
Acts as a producer of materials for adult education projects	29.2
Supplies recordings and guides, musical and non-musical	26.0
Provides counseling, program service, and materials	23.8
Supplies and/or shows films and film lists	22.1
Participates in continuing studies of adult educational needs and resources	21.5
Takes leadership in initiating community-wide programs	20.6
Concentrates adult educational services on special groups	20.5
Uses educational programs on radio	19.7

Late in 1973, the present author discussed Smith's total list of activities with six well-informed national library leaders who were unanimous in their opinion that in the last twenty years both the variety of activities and the number of libraries participating in them had increased. The same general conclusion that there had been much growth and diversification was reached in a project co-ordinated by Allie Beth Martin and published in 1972 by the American Library Association. This study, entitled A Strategy for Public Library Change reports many major developments since the Public Library Inquiry in 1948-49 and conveys

the impression of a widespread creativeness among public librarians with many new and successful programs and activities in existence which have never been reported in the literature.

Rather than categorizing specific services, a virtually endless task and one which would require much cross-analysis of purpose, content, method, and clientele, it seems best in the present paper to identify, describe, and illustrate certain modes of service. They evolve from, but are not automatic extensions of, the various distinctions made in earlier pages. However, they do not add up to the public library's total potential involvement in the communiversity which, both in itself and in terms of the roles of its various parts, has not yet evolved to the stage in which it can be seen with clarity.

1. A Provider of Service to the Independent Student.- One mode of service, the provision of the means of learning for the independent student, is accepted by all public librarians as being central to their work. It is essentially and inherently at the core of the public library's educational service. In elaborating on this point, the word "book" will here serve as a symbol for all the communication devices which the library should have available for its patrons' use and which are not described here because they are dealt with fully in another paper in this series. Each of these other media - such as recordings, films, micro-reproduction systems, or slides - supplement the book by furnishing kinds of educational stimuli that it cannot offer or reaching kinds of audiences that it does not interest, but the book, in turn, makes a distinctive contribution which the other

media cannot duplicate. The book is still the chief medium of communication used by library patrons and this fact is true not merely because of tradition but also because its diversity and flexibility as an instrument of education is as yet unmatched by any other.

The "curriculum" of a library is infinitely broad and variable. Every book is a module or group of modules of instruction. Books or parts of books can be combined into larger units in terms of the user's interests, abilities, and span of attention. The entrance requirements of the library are non-existent or minimal. No direct costs of instruction are usually charged and the indirect costs - such as for parking, purchased meals, and baby-sitting service - are less than those incurred elsewhere since the learner is usually able to withdraw the books for use in a convenient and cost-free location. Alternatively, and at the learner's choice, the library affords a quiet place to study, away from the distractions of home or work. Learning can begin at any time and proceed at any pace desired. The book can be examined, in whole or in part, as many times as the learner wishes and in any sequence desired. The material included can be presented at any level of difficulty from the simplest to the most advanced. The learner can concentrate or diffuse his or her studies and may undertake one or many lines of investigation. The use of a book requires action rather than passivity on the learner's part and thus forces independence of approach. The learner can stop when the motivating purposes have been achieved or can go on indefinitely as long as desired. If necessary, the

library's resources can be brought to the learner. Such values as these cannot be provided by any other agency of adult education though, if money is not significant, most of them can be paralleled by a large bookstore.

Most librarians seem to take it for granted that the strengthening of the library as an institution is the key to the improvement of individualized educational service. A good statement of this point of view was put forward some years ago by Harold L. Hamill, who argued that this mode of service - which he believed to lie at the heart of the public library's adult education function - could best be achieved by "a strong program of fundamentals," which he summarized in nine rules for successful individualized service. They are:

> 1. Work out, after patient and careful analysis, a solid and long-range plan of accomplishment. Know clearly what you are not trying to do as well as what you are trying to do. Determining a service pattern does not necessarily require an elaborate survey by authorities, but it does mean drawing upon the best wisdom of your entire staff in formulating a clear-cut and definite program which all understand.
>
> 2. Secure the strongest possible administrative leadership in all departments and bear in mind that only in the smallest library is leadership a one-man job.
>
> 3. Initiate and carry out an attractive personnel policy, with high salaries and good staff benefits, so that you can secure the most capable staff possible.
>
> 4. Above all, stress first-hand personal book knowledge in all members of your staff and infuse in them, if possible, the strong conviction that the wonderful and diversified knowledge and wisdom of books is absolutely essential to individuals in the modern world.
>
> 5. Be sure that your library system is dynamic and flexible, and is keyed to the community as it exists today, not as it existed twenty-five years ago. This may mean a constantly changing pattern of service, with the curtailing of some activities and building up of others.

> 6. Without overdoing it, de-emphasize the trivial and wholly recreational materials of your library. Stress and build up its important, meaningful and serious services. The development of a branch system is, of course, predicated upon a strong, well-diversified and attractive central library, with as many special departments as the size and character of the community require and finances will permit.
>
> 7. Insist on strong, adequately-staffed and stocked branches and outlets. Limited book collections, brief hours of service, and insufficient staff are half-way measures sometimes offered as a sop to communities when finances do not permit adequate service. Such a service pattern is inclined to kill library services rather than pave the way for better.
>
> 8. Give constant attention to advertising and publicizing your service to the entire community. Not even the best libraries have done half as much as they should do in this field. . .
>
> 9. Adopt an aggressive, go-get-it policy in budget requests, but bear in mind that no library ever has enough money. Making the most of what you have will mean eliminating unnecessary overhead and working out most efficient methods and procedures. It will mean critically evaluating the effectiveness and worth of every activity, and having the courage and toughmindedness to throw out the obsolete or convert it to something more essential and meaningful.[1]

When an inquiry was made in the early 1970s as to the chief problems of public libraries, twelve categories were identified, nine of which had been indicated fifteen years earlier by Mr. Hamill.[2] One ("failure to serve all publics - minorities, deprived, new audiences, suburbs") was within his frame of reference but omitted, but the other two (which related to library education and interlibrary cooperation) had to do with the whole profession, not with a specific library system, the topic to which he was addressing himself.

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[1]Harold L. Hamill, "Boon or Booby Trip?" ALA Bulletin, 48 (April, 1954), 213.

[2]A Strategy for Public Library Change, op. cit., 26

It must be made clear, however, that many librarians believe that the accomplishment of even this basic mode of service requires creative ingenuity which goes far beyond "sound principles of library operation" which, to some librarians, seems to be the paramount principle of good service. The distinction comes in the subtle shift of meaning between "service to the individual" and "service to all individuals." This latter principle raises, for example, the key question of book selection for each of the publics to be served. This problem cannot be avoided since the absence of a policy is itself a policy. Every intended audience has to be considered especially, and this fact is particularly true of the traditional non-users of the library. For fifty years, the suggestions for change have been multitudinous and here they can only be suggested: specially-written books, large-type books, a card catalog more concerned with evaluated content than with bibliographic information, special "vestibule" rooms for people not yet ready to tackle the entire collection, books-by-mail, and expansion out of the library to the neighborhoods where special audiences reside or work. As Noël Savage reported in his review of libraries for 1973: "Libraries are reaching out to the community with a mind-boggling array of programs aimed at either getting the potential patron into the library or bringing service out to him."[1]

Some of these special efforts overlap modes of service to be described subsequently but such innovations remain within the

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[1]Noël Savage, "News Report - 1973," Library Journal, 99 (January 1, 1974), 26

most established tradition of the public library: the provision of books to the individual so that he or she can have a free choice among them. The aim and the effect of these creative practices is to make the choice more open and free than ever before.

2. A Collaborator in the Designing of Inter-Institutional Programs.- Here all three kinds of collaboration mentioned earlier can come into play - indeed, one kind can shift into another - but primary attention will be focussed at this point on multi-lateral and bi-lateral efforts. The library's role can be as simple as promoting the educational endeavors of other agencies, but such facilitation does not call on the professionalization of the librarian. More difficult - and certainly more rewarding - are the intensive services which a professional can perform, of which three will be highlighted here: to provide specialized materials services; to take an active part as co-sponsor of activities; and to take an active part in all-community planning.

The specialized provision of materials services is so well established in the traditional library pattern that it needs little elaboration here. Particularly in departmental collections, it often happens that teachers or administrators ask librarians for help in locating sources, in arranging for their use, and sometimes in recommending books, films, recordings, or other communications materials. One of the often-expressed ideals of the profession is that the library should have experts who can implement the work of those who offer direct instruction in other agencies.

The major new frontier in this respect lies in the capacity to select and recommend books which can be effectively used for the adult who is barely literate and has not yet achieved easy entree to the customary kinds of print. Materials written for children are demeaning to men and women, and books and pamphlets written especially for new adult readers may be didactic, moralistic, over-simple, and blind to ethnic differences. Librarians and others have been grappling with this problem for sixty years but, despite great advances, it has not been completely solved.

A useful way of evaluating such books has been developed by Helen Huguenor Lyman. After a study in depth of fourteen library programs, an interview schedule was administered to 479 adult new readers in six large-city systems. This analysis enabled Lyman and her associates to make many judgments about programs of instruction and service, categories of readers, and suitable materials. The final product of this work was a Materials Analysis Criteria Checklist by which such books may be evaluated. The report of this five-year study is full and voluminous, with case studies of individuals and with tabulations of data which should be considered carefully by anyone who intends to specialize in this kind of program of service.[1]

Even after such materials are selected and rated, however, they may sit on the shelves unused if the library does not work

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[1] Helen Huguenor Lyman, Library Materials in Service to the Adult New Reader Chicago: American Library Association, 1973.

actively with the adult basic education classes of the community. This point is stressed in an unpublished paper issued by the Appalachian Adult Education Center of Morehead State University in Kentucky: "Some five percent of the poor adult readers in this country make themselves available to us for a while in ABE. In my view, while we've got 'em, we must" do all we can to help them deepen and internalize their skills. In the five-point program which follows, one item is:

> Help the public library and other information sources in the community adapt their services to the information needs of the poor and upwardly mobile. It is here that I see the greatest need for public library involvement in the education of functional illiterates. It is true that the public library can provide a cheap time-flexible avenue for self-directed adults already operating at an elevated skills level to prepare for high school equivalency, but to my mind it is much more urgent that they modify their services to provide the kinds of concise, easily-read materials in adult problem areas that must be available before developing skills can be applied.

Librarians might well agree heartily with this goal but still ask how it can be accomplished. Peter Hiatt and Henry T. Drennan have suggested a large number of practical techniques now in use somewhere in the United States.[1] Their list goes far beyond collaboration with other agencies and refers to all of the modes of service here being described. The same fact is also true of the major study undertaken by Claire K. Lipsman.[2]

She undertook a major survey of library service to the disadvantaged public, reporting on a total of 3,524 in-depth

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[1] Peter Hiatt and Henry T. Drennan, Public Library Services for the Functionally Illiterate. Chicago: American Library Association, 1967.

[2] Claire K. Lipsman, The Disadvantaged and Library Effectiveness. Chicago: American Library Association, 1972.

interviews conducted in fifteen cities. All respondents lived within a half-mile radius of a branch public library in an impoverished neighborhood. The sample was divided into 1,746 library users and 1,778 nonusers. The results are far too complex to be reported here, though they are well worth study by any person confronted professionally by service to the target group identified. In the simplest form, it could be said that Lipsman concluded that (1) existing programs should be improved; (2) better use of systems approaches and data collection could help individual libraries to refine their service; and (3) "new roles must be explored for the public library as a resource for experience, opportunities, and stimuli not readily available elsewhere."

In considering the third of these recommendations, Lipsman suggests, among other things, closer coordination with the schools, training in leadership skills for people who have already emerged as having potential, provision of more practical information to those who need it, sponsorship of social-recreational activities in the libraries, provision of cultural enrichment (particularly that based on the ethnic background of the indigenous population), and collaboration in mutual projects with other agencies in the neighborhood, including local citizen organizations. In making the library a true community center, Lipsman observes that "Libraries do not seem to sponsor covered-dish suppers, alumni dinners, annual balls, bake sales, fairs, or baseball teams. They ought to do all of these things, or at least all that are feasible. . . .Libraries ought also to

consider adding food as a permanent attraction - a European-style coffee bar, an ice cream parlor, or a similar attractive facility with adequate space for leisurely snacking and talking." She then hastily adds, "Naturally, recreational functions should be so located as not to interfere with patrons who are using the library for reading and study."[1]

A similar view was expressed in 1967 by Denis Howell, at that time the minister responsible for libraries in England and Wales, who observed: "I still believe we need much more thought about the use of our libraries - their social purpose. They ought not to be just book-lending centres. . .In my view they should become cultural centres in the widest sense of that term - a place in which people can gather to talk, to hear a variety of discussions - the very heart of the local community. This means, too, that we have to think about them in terms of the leisure age for which we should be planning, so that people can get a meal and a drink and where there is a multiplicity of activity."[2] Such centers as Lipsman and Howell have in mind may not require collaboration with other institutions but it is likely that such integration of effort would greatly enrich the ensuing program.

Many of the examples already given show how a public library can take an active part as co-sponsor of an educational

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[1] Ibid., 150

[2] Quoted by Frank W. Jessup, "Libraries and Adult Education," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, 27, November-December, 1973. 307.

program and the library literature is replete with other illustrations. Sometimes the program seems to stand alone and its consequences, if any, are unplanned; in other cases, long-maintained collaboration is an essential part of the design. In Johnston County, North Carolina, the public library joined with other agencies to sponsor a three-month forum, meeting weekly, which dealt broadly with the social problems of the county. Careful involvement procedures were used so that substantial community participation occurred at every stage and the public library took an active part in all respects.[1] Much follow-up doubtless occurred but it was not part of the original or evolving design. An excellent illustration of a sequential series of collaborative activities has been undertaken by the Oklahoma City and County Libraries. A single course initiated by the library in collaboration with the local Junior League has broadened out to include many other programs undertaken in conjunction with a great variety of agencies.[2]

As has already been noted, all-community planning which aims to bring a number of agencies into a powerful and continuing collaboration to advance adult education is sporadic and fitful. This field still lags far behind social welfare or health. All-community surveys, adult educational councils, and special leagues of agencies have come into being, have sometimes flourished or endured for long periods of time, but have seldom gained enduring

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[1]Robert S. Rankin, Thomas Lassiter, and Jim Noel, "The Johnston County Forum," Adult Leadership (October, 1973), 141-43.

[2]Walter Gray, Jr., "Of People, Ideas, and Libraries," Adult Leadership (May, 1966), 12-14, 31.

strength. The best that can be said is that non-traditional adult education may be in a preparatory stage in which a number of less all-embracing activities must occur before a final culmination takes place and a true communiversity comes into existence.

In this regard, it is fair to ask how much collaborative planning is actually occurring. The answer given by a team of investigators at Rutgers University would be "not very much." In the course of their study, they examined the outreach programs for 21 separate community groups that had been conducted by the 20 libraries in their detailed sample. This examination reveals that

> Programs for children represented 29.8 percent of all events for special groups. Programs designed for young people and the aged constituted 11.3 percent and 9.6 percent respectively of the total. Together these three groups accounted for over half (50.7%) of all programs aimed at specific populations. Programs for what might be considered power groups in a community - labor, government officials, men's clubs - were virtually non-existent.[1]

In general, the services provided for children were judged to be innovative and creative. Those for the other clients had chiefly to do with providing greater access to materials.

On the other hand, a review of library activities in 1973 by Noël Savage reached a precisely opposite conclusion and documented it with many examples. He concluded

> Interest in outreach through services and programs including cultural events grew in 1973; public libraries are especially attempting to enter into the life of the community by providing residents with live information pertinent to their social needs. Librarians want to have a hand in shaping their communities, and this is one approach they're counting on heavily.[2]

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[1] De Prospo, Altman, and Beasley, op. cit., 28

[2] op. cit., 24.

3. A Center of Group Instruction.- A wide spectrum of opinion is manifested on the issue as to whether the library should itself provide classes, courses, discussion groups, and other kinds of teaching. Some forms of activity are unquestioned, except perhaps as to whether their results are worth the effort they require. They include book-talks, book-based discussion groups, educative displays and exhibits, and special programs for the Friends of the Library or other facilitative groups. In his valuable compendium of examples of all kinds of library adult educational service, John Chancellor devotes many pages to the teaching techniques which the institution might use both because they are inherently good and because they stimulate the use of other services.[1]

Some library leaders go beyond this minimal and often occasional service to argue that the library, as the chief repository of culture in most cities, should make active use of its position by becoming the collective center for all those people for whom serious learning is either helpful or enjoyable and for whom the use of the resources would provide a natural center of focussed instruction. Most library patrons prefer to learn independently most of the time but at least occasionally they want to be associated with other people in shared study and discussion. The capacity to move in and out of group situations gives such patrons a flexibility they cannot otherwise enjoy. Emerson Greenaway once noted that "group activities are the

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[1] Helping Adults to Learn, edited by John Chancellor. Chicago: American Library Association, 1939.

prevailing mode of contemporary education"[1] and John Mackenzie Cory said that "there are individuals, probably an overwhelming majority of the population, who have a gregarious instinct - a desire to share and compare with others."[2] Usually the people who hold such views are not advocating highly organized courses or sequences, with credit or other forms of credentialing, but a rich program of seminars, discussions, special interest groups and clubs, collaborative research projects or community study, and other intellectual enterprises.

More than a few librarians have, however, taken a less conventional position, arguing that the group instruction provided by the library, should respond to all community needs or desires to which it can make a contribution. Since the library building is not itself constructed with class-rooms, borrowed facilities may be needed. In some communities, library boards have, in the absence of initiative by other community agencies, embarked upon broadly-based programs of group instruction. In other communities, such activity has flowed naturally from collaborative relationships. Gray reported, for example, that

> In planning a program for a season, every effort is made to schedule a variety of opportunities so that, hopefully, each person looking it over will find at least one activity in which he will want to take part. There has been competition, too. The YMCA and the YWCA have offered a variety of courses, primarily in the area of hobbies. Many have taken courses

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[1] Emerson Greenaway, "The Librarian and Adult Education," Library Quarterly, 31 (January, 1961), 30

[2] John Mackenzie Cory, "Library-Sponsored Group Services," ALA Bulletin, 48 (April, 1954), 209

offered by the Oklahoma City Board of Education, usually to develop skills or to complete their high school diplomas. Oklahoma City University, the University of Oklahoma and Central State College have attracted numerous adults wishing to obtain their degrees. This competition has been healthy and has worked toward the end of achieving a better environment for all adult education activities.[1]

Despite these enthusiastic comments, group instructional activities (other than those mentioned in the first paragraph of this section) are not widely sponsored nor warmly favored by many public librarians. The opposing arguments are many: the multitudinous group services offered by other organizations and associations; the fear that competition with such institutions will be a deterrent and not a stimulus to the library's progress; the fact that the library building is not designed for group instruction; the difficulties of administering programs in non-controlled facilities; the possible neglect of the more essential individualized service; and the lack of funds. The general case for this position is well-stated by Hamill and is suggested by the title of his paper "Boon or Booby Trap?", in which he answers his own question by indicating that group instruction might well be the second of the two suggested alternatives. He sums up by saying "Don't have a closed mind about the value and attractions of group adult education projects, but remember that the time and resources of every individual and every institution are strictly limited. If a program does not produce clear-cut results, discard it in favor of the fundamentals."[2]

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[1] op. cit., 12-13

[2] op. cit., 213-214

An indication of the general lack of interest in group activities may be found in the record of the twenty libraries studied by de Prospo and others, which had sponsored 205 events for the public at large during the preceding six months.[1] The following listing shows the percentage of frequency of various types of activities. The "other" category includes chiefly format combinations, such as film and book talks, lectures and exhibits, and other variations.

	%
films	34.1
exhibits	13.6
lectures	9.7
concerts	3.9
book talks	3.4
lecture and discussion	2.9
workshop	2.0
seminar	2.0
bibliography	2.0
radio show	2.0
other	24.4

4. A Provider of Generalized Counseling for Individuals or Groups.- Many people in the modern community have a more or less focussed desire to learn (a fact documented earlier in this paper) but do not know where to turn to find the knowledge they seek nor the sympathetic support which will reinforce their efforts. In the 1920s and 1930s, it was thought that this need could be cared for by readers' advisors, individual librarians who could take the time to use existing reading lists or develop new ones to meet the requirements of individuals who sought them out. John Chancellor's book has much to say about various

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[1] op. cit., p. 42.

conceptions of the role of the readers' advisor. But the system did not formally succeed in the sense that the position did not become firmly established though it may well be true, as some commentators suggest, that readers' advisors had great impact in directing librarians' attention towards the needs of individuals and the growth of generalized adult services.

In recent years, however, a greatly expanded conception of the need for educational counseling service has emerged. The general structural pattern is to have one or more specialized counselors who spend their major time at this task. In addition, all staff members who work with adults provide as much counseling help as they can and refer people who need greater assistance to the specialized counselor. Ideally some or all of the other adult educational agencies in the community take the initiative to put any adult who seeks a program they do not offer in direct contact with an individual librarian. The bibliographic readers' advisory service is still carried out, but the counselor may also play both broader and more intensive roles, some of which will be briefly noted here.

One such service is as a counselor to learners on the use of the library's resources. Here individualized help is given by general advisors as well as by subject matter specialists. Tours are conducted and open-house days scheduled. Talks are given to outside groups. In the last fifty years, several pamphlet series incorporating bibliographic essays have been widely disseminated; the best-known library-oriented series were entitled Reading With a Purpose and Reading for an Age of Change.

In both urban and rural communities, creative efforts are made to reach new readers, and the papers on that subject by Hiatt and Drennan and by Lyman are useful in suggesting techniques. In a program which is still being developed, the Appalachian Adult Education Center at Morehead State University (in Kentucky) is helping rural libraries to reach and serve their clienteles.

A second service is as a generalized educational counselor. In the past, this role, where it existed, has been essentially that of a broker of information. Some librarian, often with other duties to perform as well, would try to keep a file of current catalogs available and would put any posters received on a bulletin board. These services were useful but necessarily limited. To-day it is increasingly clear that much more intensive services are required and that they will be provided by the public library or by some other community agency. In many cities, anybody in need of welfare aid can turn to a Community Referral Service, usually supported by the Community Chest. This Service not only directs the applicant to the appropriate agency but may set up an appointment or in other ways serve as a welcome intervener in the process of finding the kind of service desired by both the recipient of aid and the agency which helps provide it. In contrast the person who seeks educational assistance must now make a wearisome round from one agency to another, all too often never finding the needed help. Unfortunately one of these agencies is frequently the public library.

The core idea of the communiversity lies in its ability to provide a varied range of services for the individual, the

group, and the community. The consumer or consumers of service provide the basic integrative principle of co-ordinated programming. The ultimate ideal would be that every adult has a single source which can provide information on the nature and extent of the activities that each agency can offer to aid the learning processes specific to his or her needs. The Central New York Regional Learning Service is providing such help in several up-state counties but it is still on a pilot basis.

A referral service which is wholly independent of programming has certain attractive features (chiefly those which come with complete independence from other commitments), but many public librarians have felt that the creation of a new type of agency is unnecessary. Paul Wasserman expressed this view: "There is, at present, no public agency which attempts to play a co-ordinating role in rationalizing the full range of information efforts of the community. Here is a task worthy of the best efforts of all those who hold an aspirational view of the public library's future, and an effort which might enlist the best efforts of all those who could contribute to such a reconstructed mission."[1]

Much remains to be done to enable librarians to fulfil this role on any other than a chance or trial-and-error basis. Systems of categorizing and collecting information and keeping it up to date need to be devised. Several of the papers in this series deal with the problem in one fashion or another. Some librarians must then be trained to use such systems and all

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[1]Paul Wasserman, The New Librarianship: A Challenge for Change New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972. 270.

librarians need to know how they can help patrons find the place which can give them service. Extensive public relations programs will have to be devised. But none of these activities is likely to be of much profit if a community network of reference is not established. The staffs of all the agencies which offer adult education must first provide the information required by the system and then be prepared to make specific referrals to all individuals who need help. It was the failure to set up such a community network which led the isolated readers' advisory system to fail. The same fate could befall the more broadly knowledgeable counselor.

But while the requirements set forth in the last paragraph are important, they do not need to be followed in the order in which they are mentioned. Even while complex and detailed systems are being devised, simpler ones can be used and librarians can be gaining that familiarity with both community institutions and individual needs which is essential to the effective ultimate functioning of the educational counselor.

5. A Counselor to Students in Credentialing Programs.- Since the end of World War II, a substantial growth has occurred in the number and variety of tests which measure formal academic competence. Among the best known are the General Educational Development Test (GED), the College-Level Examination Program (CLEP), and the College Proficiency Examination Program (CPEP). The first of these is at the high school level and successful completion confers either a diploma or its equivalent. The latter two are measures of proficiency in various college courses

or broad areas of knowledge, and a passing grade is accepted by many institutions of higher learning as the equivalent of credit. Each such institution makes its own rules about how much and what kinds of recognition it will confer in this fashion and some colleges will award a degree in some fields of knowledge solely by the passing of such examinations.

Meanwhile a great deal of attention is now being given to the development of new degree programs for adults which give credit for their life experience and their courses in military service, or even establish wholly new ways of securing degrees, such as by the use of mentors, contracts, supervised experience, and portfolios of accomplishment. The concept of a "credit bank," which will enable a student to build a record of all his formal educational attainments is also much discussed and will probably become a reality. The possibilities of non-traditional study of this sort are explored in Diversity by Design (to which earlier reference has been made) and the degree implications have been dealt with in a book also issued under the auspices of the Commission on Non-Traditional Study.[1]

Many new ventures to aid adults seeking credentials are now getting under way and more will probably be created in the future. One promising venture is a program sponsored by the Educational Testing Service and called the Cooperative Assessment of Experiential Learning. This substantially-funded program will use the activities of nine or more highly experimental

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[1]Cyril O. Houle, The External Degree San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.

colleges and universities as a basis for controlled studies designed to develop and establish new measures of academic accomplishment which will then be diffused throughout the academic establishment by a continuing and broadly-based Assembly of institutions of higher learning.

In the normal course of events, innovative credentialing programs have already brought many adult students to the public library simply because they need its resources to fulfil their requirements for preparation for tests or for specialized degree certification. Some libraries have, however, seen a special opportunity to assist individuals, giving them advice on what they need to know, helping them assemble their records, providing copies of the books or other materials they need, referring them to agencies which can give them instruction, providing instruction in the library itself, administering tests or other instruments, and, in general, creating a warm and supportive atmosphere which will encourage sequential learning.

A substantial number of public library systems have now accepted this form of counseling as a major part of their service to adults. The best-known of these ventures is that undertaken by the Dallas Public Library in collaboration with Southern Methodist University. The program is fully reported in a new book which describes and candidly assesses accomplishments.[1] Meanwhile the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) has

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[1] Jean S. Brooks and David L. Reich, The Public Library in Non-Traditional Education Homewood, Illinois: ETC Publications, 1974. A briefer report will be found in a paper by Reich included in A Search for Substance, edited by S. V. Martorana and Eileen Kuhns. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974.

initiated an Office of Library Independent Study and Guidance Projects with support from the Council on Library Resources and the National Endowment for the Humanities (both of which also supported the Dallas project.) This Office has held a number of conferences of librarians and others to discuss the support of independent study and has found general enthusiasm for the idea. The report of one such conference held in New York State emphasizes the following goals for serving the adult learner:

> trying to reach and serve every potential adult learner within the service area, cooperating with other educational agencies, and providing the materials most likely to be used ranging from ready-reference books supplemented by interlibrary loan to the acquisition of comprehensive collections of self-education materials and the active stimulation of their use.[1]

This conference also looked far beyond the credentialing function, considering many other kinds of service. The librarians present "recognized that they would have to move from a traditionally passive role of response to requests for information to a more active one of a total community outreach nature" and also that they must "create a clearly defined, organized, planned, and publicized program of service that could be implemented through any public library in the State, no matter how small or how remote."[2]

In a more systematic and thorough approach, a number of libraries, chiefly in large cities, have agreed to work with CEEB

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[1] "New York Libraries Agree on New Focus: The Adult Independent Learner," The Bookmark (January-February, 1974), 75

[2] Ibid., 76

in implementing the program of independent study and other educational functions. Among these systems are those of Atlanta, Cleveland, Denver, Baltimore, Miami-Dade, Portland (Maine), Salt Lake City, St. Louis, Tulsa, Woodbridge (New Jersey), and Worcester. Each system has created an extensive plan for service including help for individuals seeking degrees but usually going far beyond that activity to provide other modes of service. This national program has hardly been begun and cannot therefore be evaluated except in terms of the ambitiousness of its approach, one which offers substantial promise.

Meanwhile the colleges and universities which offer external degrees are confronting the need to secure help from public libraries. An introductory study of the relationship between these two kinds of institutions concludes that "the educational planners are not giving enough consideration to information systems and vice versa."[1] Most of the institutions of higher learning have their own libraries but are finding that the needs of a dispersed adult clientele go far beyond those required by resident campus students. Other colleges which have been brought into being solely to award the new kinds of degrees find that their students have great need of the public libraries as the sources of the materials they require. The pressure toward collaboration will intensify in both the service required by this function and by the one which will now be considered.

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[1] Barry Richards and Joseph H. Oakey. Information Systems for Nontraditional Study, The State of the Art. Center for the Study of Information and Education, Syracuse University, undated. 27

6. A Multi-media Learning Center.- The provision of counseling often leads naturally to the broadened scope of the multi-media learning center in which personal and physical assistance in instruction are provided. Sometimes, however, such a center is initiated as a new venture either independently by the library or in collaboration with other institutions. "A public library," said André Maurois, "is a real centre of culture, propagating human knowledge and dispensing delight."[1]

When the Ohio Board of Regents decided to create an Extended Learning Program (which is far too complex to summarize here), it concluded that the learning centers used by its adult students should be public libraries. As the first annual report of the Program[2] observes:

> Certain considerations made the library site the appropriate choice for the learning centers:
>
> 1. Because much of the service provided at the learning centers was referral to existing institutions and programs, it seemed that a neutral site was important so the student would not have to make an initial commitment.
>
> 2. The library personnel and the state librarian showed an enthusiastic interest in this relationship.
>
> 3. A national study is being conducted to determine the feasibility of utilizing public libraries as study centers to prepare persons for taking the College Level Examination Program. The library as a learning center fits well with this concept.

Two roles were planned for the public library:

> 1. to provide housing for the coordinator and staff where students can get information about the program and advice about a variety of educational opportunities.

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[1] op. cit., 8

[2] A copy of this report may be available to interested readers who write to the Program at P. O. Box 843, Athens, Ohio 45701.

2. To be a resource center, providing books, reference materials, and play-back equipment for audio and visual tape.

An evaluation at the end of the first year reported:

> The relationship has worked well. In Cleveland, the office space provided in the downtown public library is excellent. In southeastern Ohio, the coordinator has been meeting with students in the public libraries, primarily Gallipolis and Belpre. The arrangement has been convenient for the students as well as providing needed facilities for the program. The communication services provided by the office of the state librarian in Columbus, the Cleveland Library, and the Ohio Valley Association of Libraries have been instrumental in getting information about the program to interested persons. Several staff members at the Cleveland Public Library are in the process of being approved as part-time faculty to supervise student independent study projects.

Another similar venture with an interesting special feature has been developed by the City Colleges of Chicago (the local community college system) and the Chicago Public Library (in its central building and in two branches). For some years, the City Colleges have maintained a TV College which used the local public broadcasting station to offer credit courses leading to the A. A. degree. Nine of these courses are available on videotape cassettes. The librarians involved have them available along with play-back machines so that students can use them at will. Counselors are available by appointment to help students map out their programs of study, taking account of their previous academic and experiential backgrounds. When Study Unlimited (as the program is called) was initiated, only a modest enrollment of about 30 students was expected, but six months later, more than 230 students had enrolled for college credit.[1] Assistance of other

[1] "Study Unlimited," American Libraries (February, 1974), 66-67.

sorts is also offered, such as help for GED and CLEP preparation and other counseling services.

The foregoing examples of learning centers have tended to stress collaborative arrangements but by far the largest number of such centers are probably maintained independently by the public library, though it may be collaborating unilaterally with many other institutions in the community. Noël Savage, in the report cited earlier, gives many examples of various approaches as does Kathleen Molz, who observes that "the variables attendant upon the development of a community learning center are many; certainly each one, as it is planned and instituted, must prove itself responsive to the community it serves. Yet, all the centers are alike in one respect, namely, their provision of an alternative to, not a displacement of, the educational structure as it now stands. The need for our technical processing centers and reference networks will not be negated by the informal educational strategies of the learning center."[1]

An English author, a senior administrator at Oxford University, has dwelt on the library as a learning center and his comments are worth reporting at length:

> . . .many public libraries perform a valuable function as communal educational and cultural centres by arranging lectures, discussions, film-shows, dramatic performances, concerts and recitals, exhibitions, folk-festivals, and by providing opportunities for amateur music-making etc. How far a public library can go in this direction depends in

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[1] Kathleen Molz, "Past and Present Efforts at Coordination of Library Services at the Community Level," in Total Community Library Service, op. cit., 71.

the first instance upon the available accommodation, and certainly any library authority in planning new buildings, or considering possible modifications of existing buildings, will be wise to take into account the potentiality of the library for development as an educational and cultural centre. This means providing lecture and seminar rooms, properly equipped with audio and visual aids including closed-circuit television, exhibition spaces, and rooms for music-making and listening to records. It is, however, not only a matter of accommodation, but also of the librarian's own interests and enthusiasms, of how he views his own functions and of how they are viewed by the library authority. Is he to be thought of as a mediator of culture, and if so, who is to determine the cultural phenomena that the library is to present? It is physically impossible to present everything, and a selection has to be made, whether in the visual arts or music or drama or whatever it may be. Within broad limits laid down by the authority, this selection, the determination of the way in which educational and cultural functions are to be developed, must be the responsibility of the librarian. In exercising it he cannot but reveal his own cultural and social values. Unless he is himself a man of taste, unless he is sympathetic to the broadening of access to culture, unless he has at least the normal social sensitivity of the public-sporited citizen, it is unlikely that the public library is his right métier.

How far a library can, and should, arrange lectures, discussions, and exhibitions dealing with social problems must depend upon the political style of the community within which it operates and of which it is part. It is tempting to say that the library should constantly be drawing attention to public issues, and without offering answers nevertheless advising where and how relevant information can be obtained; that it should, in fact, be part of the critical apparatus through which society examines and tests its own practices and values. However it is unrealistic to suppose that this would be feasible, or accepted as desirable, in some political situations. It is noticeable that some libraries mount exhibitions which are enjoyable rather than provocative, and that their lecture programmes are informative and entertaining rather than productive of discussion and controversy. In the given circumstances this may be inevitable, but the public library that thus leads a circumscribed existence cannot be said to be, in Ortega's phrase, 'living at the height of its times.'[1]

7. A Guide to Teachers or Leaders in Other Programs of Adult Education.- Since the library has broad and general

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[1] Jessup, op. cit., 310-11

community relationships, its staff can often serve as counselors or trainers to leaders or teachers in other community programs or can take the initiative to be sure that collaborative learning by such people occurs. Such a service can be provided in a number of ways.

The most obvious perhaps is to help the staff members of other agencies know how to use the library's resources. The teachers in an evening school or college or the leaders in a community center or voluntary association may be invited on a special tour of the building and its collection, accompanied by a discussion of how its resources can be most efficiently used both by them and by their students. Such a program is particularly effective if the library has specialties which apply directly to the interests of the people invited, such as materials on art, on local history, or on books and other resources for new readers. If the persons to be served cannot feasibly come to the library, then it may be possible for the librarian to go to them at their meetings, though such a procedure does not have the immediacy or probably the follow-up of a direct experience with the library itself. It is sometimes a good idea to have a special open house for all leaders and teachers in the community, particularly since such a gathering may have a multiply interactive effect in the creation of new collaborative efforts later on.

Another form of assistance is in the provision of help in program planning. Such help may be a very simple level and be nothing more than a conference between a librarian and some

teacher or leader who is looking for program materials. On the other hand, it may be intensive and continuing help in designing and implementing an educational activity. Grace T. Stevenson, using the Akron Public Library as an example, has demonstrated how such assistance might be given. The program chairman of an association or organization

> is encouraged to come in with a committee to consult the librarian who is located in a central spot in the library. The librarian discusses with the committee the kind of group they are planning for, their specific interests, what kind of programs have been most successful, and those least successful. On the basis of this information, suggestions are made regarding possible subjects, methods of presentation, available speakers, films, or books and pamphlets that will help the group in building a program. Pamphlets on program-planning and subject guides are available for the committee to examine. After making these suggestions, the librarian leaves the committee to decide upon their own program. The primary purpose is not to plan programs for the committee but to help the committee analyze previous programs, point out ways of making programs meaningful to the group, and encourage them to plan more stimulating and thought-provoking programs.[1]

The library can also serve, either alone or in collaboration, as a trainer of trainers, usually doing so in terms of the use of media and methods of adult education. The teachers of basic education may need a course in the materials available for such instruction and many leaders need systematic help in knowing the proper use of audio-visual aids.

The library may also be a catalyst in creating multilateral study-groups or other instruction in new techniques. Even in the absence of an organized adult education council,

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[1] Grace T. Stevenson, "The Role of the Public Library in Adult Reading," in Adult Reading, edited by Nelson B. Henry. 55th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, 1956. 127

many federations of agencies, some of them initiated by libraries, hve come into being to encourage new techniques of leadership or the discussion of public policy issues on education and communication. In the past, the topic might have been discussion techniques, group dynamics, audio-visual education, or the best use of the press, radio, or television. At present the topic might be concerned with approaches to new clienteles, encounter group leadership, or the potentials of video-tape and cable television. The library has no greater mandate than any other agency to initiate such ventures but its concern with methods and materials and its breadth of relationship to other agencies make it a natural beginning-point for any such effort.

A Concluding Note on Modes of Service.- These seven modes of service do not capture all of the etraordinary innovativeness displayed by public libraries in their adult educational activity. Countless other examples - and even categories of examples - of activities are suggested in such already-cited references as those written or edited by John Chancellor, Kate Coplan and Edwin Castagna, Guy Garrison, Peter Hiatt and Henry T. Drennan, Harold Jolliffe, Allie Beth Martin, Helen Huguenor Smith, and Grace T. Stevenson.

But the modes of service here suggested do mention some broad ways of providing help to learners and may suggest others to the reader. The endeavor here has not been to describe activities in detail so much as to suggest their broad nature so that librarians can use them imaginatively in the specific situations in which they work. As John Chancellor once observed

> Tolstoy, in one of his very serious essays, speaks of the two ways of directing a person going on a journey, the one to give him a detailed list of specific landmarks he will pass, a list of towns and roads; the other, a general direction and a compass or guiding star. We need both. But perhaps in journeys such as the one discussed, we especially need the latter, the far-off ever-present objective. The danger in listing specific landmarks and details of procedure is that we may become engrossed and forget the general direction, forget even to travel. Hence, one feels surest in pointing only a main objective and letting each work toward it in his own way and as the details of his immediate situation permit.[1]

VII

The Key Problem of the Public Library as an Educational Institution

In the early 1970s, everybody concerned with the public library, from the least informed to the most knowledgeable, seems to feel it necessary to adopt some posture concerning its future as an adult educational institution. The viewpoints range from euphoric visions of greatness to the gloomy counsels of despair. Most public librarians seem to be, in Wordsworth's language, people "of cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows." A special committee appointed by the Public Library Association and the American Library Association asserted that "thoughtful library leaders are saying that opportunities have never been more promising" and that public libraries "are on the threshold of renascence."[2] As must be clear by now, the present writer (though not a librarian) shares this view.

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[1] op. cit., 205

[2] A Strategy for Public Library Change, op. cit., vii-viii

But there are certainly prophets of gloom. Their words have appeared in previous sections of this paper but the negative view has not here been fully and clearly exposed. The literature contains a number of examples of what our ancestors used to all a "rant." Statistics of various sorts are cited to show how few people hold library cards, how seldom they take out library materials, and how few in number are the materials they do borrow. Serious and thoughtful authors have also reached a negative view. David L. Altheide asked in 1970 "Is the Public Library Obsolete?"[1] and answered his own question by saying that unless it changed it certainly would be. A year later, Joseph Eisner, also using the form of the rhetorical question, asked "Public Libraries: On the Skids?" and ended his fiscal analysis by saying that they "will literally be running harder just to stay in the same place."[2] In 1974, Michael Harris announced that "the very existence of the public library appears in jeopardy; public librarians appear both concerned and confused."[3]

The case against the public library (and, more specifically, against its educational impact) has typically been supported solely by figures drawn from the records of the institution itself, showing its low and selective drawing-power and the relative infrequency of its use. These figures are so commonly available that they will not be reviewed here. What is less frequently realized is that the same conclusion can also be

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[1] Mountain Plains Library Quartely, 15 (July, 1970), 19-25

[2] Library Journal (October 1, 1971), 3095

[3] op. cit., 2514

documented by studies of the entire population. Before turning, in the final section of this paper, to a presentation of a more optimistic plan for the future, it will be well to confront some of the conclusions to which the student of adult education must come as he surveys the total current scene.

The key problem of the public library as an educational institution is that many librarians and the overwhelming majority of citizens do not realize that it is a center of learning. Even those people who do have this recognition, either consciously or by tacit acceptance, have not integrated it into their practice. For example, many university faculty members and independent scholars would abstractly espouse the educational mission of the public library and yet seldom suggest to students or other people that its collection and services could be useful to them. A sampling study of adults quoted by Berelson concluded "The library appears to be lacking in salience to many people - it wouldn't occur to them to go there." The men and women polled in the same study were asked where they would turn if they needed information on various topics. Several general communications sources were mentioned to them. The results showed that 5% would go to the library for information on home decoration, 7% on nutrition, 13% on child care, and 24% on foreign countries.[1]

Even broader conclusions were reached by the national sample of out-of-school persons 18 to 60 which was conducted in the spring and summer of 1972.[2] When a list of institutions which

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[1] op. cit., 17-18.

[2] Carp, Peterson, and Roelfs, op. cit.

provide education was presented to the 77% of the respondents who indicated that they were would-be learners, only 1% chose the item of "library or museum." This percentage was fairly consistent among all demographic categories, the only notable variations being that 3% of the persons between 55 and 60 years of age, 4% of the college graduates, and 4% of the persons engaged in professions or in managerial posts in large businesses chose the library or museum as a preferred place of study. Of the 31% of the respondents who indicated that they had been learners during the past year, 2% chose the library or museum. Among the learners, however, many variations existed among sub-groups. Libraries and museums proved to be much more attractive to part-time workers (9%) than to full-time workers (1%) or to those who had no job (2%). Men (3%) used the library for education more than women (2%). In the age groupings, the highs were 55-60 (7%) and 30-34 (5%). Blacks (6%) used the library for education more than whites (2%). Non-housewives (4%) exceeded housewives (1%).

To anybody who regards the public library as a self-sufficient educational entity, these figures will all seem shockingly low. For the person who regards the institution as part of an emerging communiversity, however, a more positive conclusion is possible. In the questions asked of both learners and would-be learners, the beginning phrase was "where did you go?" or "where would you go?" Such questions probably tend to force a choice so that only a primary institution is mentioned. Among the other locations listed by learners were: home, 17%; employer, 13%; social

organization, 6%; religious group, 6%; government agency, 5%; and recreational group, 2%. It may well be true that the library provided an essential supplementary need for educational material in all such cases. It may also have done so for at least some of the 26% of the learners who went to some formal educational institution such as a high school, a college, or a graduate school. It seems likely, in fact, that the public library's chief role in adult education at the present time lies not in its independent provision of opportunities but in its interaction with other services.

Many librarians may be content to have this emphasis continue into the future, letting other institutions take over the primary role in education. However, other data in the 1972 study may make them feel less comfortable about relying solely upon the support they give to others. The would-be learners were asked to respond to the following statement: "Many things stop people from taking a course of study or learning a skill. Circle all those listed below that you feel are important in keeping you from learning what you want to learn." Twenty-five possibilities were given and all were checked by three percent or more of the respondents. Some possibilities would apply to libraries as readily as to other agencies: "not enough time" (46%), "home responsibilities" (32%), and "job responsibilities" (28%) would be good examples. But many of the items would not apply - or, at least, not apply very strongly - to public libraries. Among them were: "cost", 53%; "don't want to go to school full-time", 35%; "amount of time required to complete program", 21%; "too

old", 17%; "courses aren't scheduled when I can attend", 16%; "strict attendance requirements", 15%; "no child care", 11%; "too much red tape", 10%; "no place to study", 7%; "don't meet requirements", 6%; "tired of school", 6%; and "no way to get credit", 5%.

These data lead to multiple interpretations, all of them probably true. (1) In thinking about their own educational desires, would-be learners did not take the library into account as a possible source of help. (2) No library was, in fact, available to them. (3) If a library was considered as a potential educational agency, that thought was rejected by the potential patron. (4) The programs which libraries might offer in collaboration with other agencies are either unavailable or unknown to the respondents. (5) Some educational goals, such as the skill training required in most occupations, cannot be achieved in a library. Perhaps other inferences might be drawn but these will suffice for present. None of the difficulties are insuperable. The public library can find ways to deal directly with the first four, and, by maintaining a community referral service, it could deal with the fifth.

Back of these specifics, however, lies a deeper truth. In the growth of mass schooling in the modern era, one format of instruction has become so dominant that it is accepted as being virtually identical with education itself. That format is the class-room in which a teacher instructs students. This method of learning is economical and it can operate either in isolation or in a complex fashion in which many different units,

all combining the same basic elements, are grouped together in a college, school, or university. Other forms of education -- such as self-directed learning, tuto ial teaching, collaborative teacherless study, conferences, apprenticeship, or sequentially-developed experience - have often been forgotten or ignored. It is easy to conclude that any institution which does not follow the "classic" pattern (which has actually been dominant for only about a hundred years) is not really an educational institution at all. A great many lay citizens and librarians who wish to have nothing to do with formal courses have reached that conclusion.

Possibly as a consequence of the dominance of the classroom, the American public is not, on the whole, heavily committed to learning by the process of reading and, since books are a public library's chief resource, a pervasive and hard-to-combat pattern of life appears to be operative. In a prodigiously complex study of how adults spend their time,[1] fifteen comparative investigative studies were conducted in the late 1960s in 12 countries. In each case carefully selected samples of men and women (averaging 1,858 persons) were interviewed in depth concerning the activities in which they had engaged on a specific day. The percentages in each area sampled of those who said that they had engaged in (a) reading books for personal instruction or (b) in homework for courses or self-instruction were as follows:

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[1] The Use of Time, edited by Alexander Szali. The Hague: Mouton, 1972. 579

	(a)	(b)
Belgium	0.3	4.1
Kazanlik, Bulgaria	0.5	3.0
Okomouc, Czechoslovakia	3.0	5.7
Six cities, France	1.9	3.2
100 electoral districts, Federal Republic of Germany	0.7	0.9
Osnabrück, Federal Republic of Germany	0.8	2.8
Hoyerswerda, German Democratic Republic	4.0	0.9
Győr, Hungary	1.4	4.3
Lima-Callo, Peru	1.3	8.4
Torún, Poland	3.5	6.0
Forty-four cities, United States	0.2	3.2
Jackson, Michigan, United States	0.5	2.5
Pskov, U. S. S. R.	3.0	13.4
Kragujevac, Yugoslavia	2.4	4.9

These figures show a pronounced difference between Communist and non-Communist countries in favor of the former. Various interpretations might be made of the relative validity as well as the degree of freedom of choice represented by this difference, but it appears profitless to go into such matters at this point. Among the non-Communist countries, however, the United States (whose citizens believe they have the highest level of formal schooling in the world) do not show up well. The French, the Peruvians, and the West Germans all engaged to a significantly greater extent than the Americans in their reading for the purpose of learning. So far as homework was concerned, only the Peruvians were significantly higher than the Americans. Another table reports that in the amount of time spent on these activities the relative standing among the countries is approximately the same as for the percentage of response figures given above.

It may be interesting to compare the percentage figures for these two categories with those of other forms of adult education.

Only the American figures will here be given. On the day in question, the percentage of people interviewed in the forty-four city sample had undertaken each of the following activities: full-time attendance in classes, 2.8%; attendance at programs of professional or special training courses, 2.1%; attendance at lectures, 0.2%; attendance at programs of political or union training, 0.3%; attendance at other activities, 1.1%; travelling connected to the above mentioned activities, including waiting for means of transport, 1.8%.

All these figures drawn from interviews with the general public suggest that the total educational enterprise has been negligent in nurturing the process of learning and particularly of learning by reading. The strategies of separatist development of the past, each institution on its own, have not worked very well in producing a strong adult education movement. If 77% of the American people aged 18 to 60 would like to learn but only 31% are doing so and if many of the obstacles to participation exist only in the minds of the would-be learners, not in the reality of what is available to them, then serious attention must be given to those strategies to see how they should be changed. Librarians whose horizons are bounded by their own institution can focus on their own failures if they like, but the basic fault is much broader and must be shared by all educational institutions. What the library can do, however, is to improve its own programs, reach out to collaborate with other institutions, be responsive to their initiatives, and, by all of these processes, help to create a true communiversity which,

either formally or informally, can change the prevailing picture of service.

VIII

Moving Toward the Communiversity

No single master stroke will change the situation described in the last section so vividly and strongly that the public library will be immediately changed into a dominant force in non-traditional education. Valuable efforts to bring about that result are already well under way and new ideas will constantly be developed but both present and future processes of change must be undertaken with the realization that determined collaborative effort must be maintained and that some familiar prescription for improvement - such as better public relations, a revised library school curriculum, or new places at which service is provided - may need to be viewed in a fresh light in terms of the emerging perspectives of non-traditional education and particularly of the prospect of an eventual communiversity.

Some Reinforcing Supports.- The effort to strengthen the libraries' influence will occur within a generally supportive social climate A Strategy for Public Library Change[1] eloquently describes the societal forces which require greater adult education, including shifting population patterns, scientific research and development, heightened formal education, the growth of the knowledge and communications industries, the trends in politics and government, the pressure for service of traditionally deprived

[1] op. cit., 1-10

persons, and the growth of leisure. In meeting the needs caused by such trends, the social order must change in significant ways and Herman Kahn ends his book on The Year 2000 with this observation:

> Above all, there must be a concern for perpetuating those institutions that protect freedom of human choice - not only for today's individuals and the pluralistic social groups that would want their views represented, but more important, for those who will follow us - those who in the future may experience their problems differently and would not want to find that we have already - unnecessarily and unwisely - foreclosed their choices and altered their natural and social world irretrievably.[1]

Of all reinforcing elements, the most significant is formal schooling, which, as has long been known, is positively associated with participation in adult education and specifically with being a library patron. Rees and Paisley showed that level of schooling was by far the most significant factor associated with library use, so strong indeed that it negated other characteristics, such as age. They observe:

> Although library use declines with age among those with less than four years of college (56 per cent of the youngest group had visited a public library within the past year, versus 43 per cent of the middle age group and 28 per cent of the oldest), the trend reverses among the college educated (43, 48, and 58 per cent). Age is a negative partialled predictor . . . only because the great majority of the sample had less than a college education.[2]

A later study using a large number of possible elemtns which might influence library use concluded "a person's education is by far

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[1]Herman Kahn, The Year 2000: A Framework for speculation on the Next Thirty-three Years. New York, 1967, 413.

[2]Matilda B. Rees and William J. Paisley, "Social and Psychological Predictors of Adult Information Seeking and Media Use," Adult Education, 19 (1968), 24

the most powerful predictor among the fourteen variables examined."[1]

The decennial census shows that the median years of school completed by persons 25 years of age or over was 8.6 in 1940, 9.3 in 1950, 10.6 in 1960, and 12.2 in 1970. The level is likely to continue to rise substantially, particularly as testing programs and formalized assessment of experience enables many of those who were passed over in earlier years to be able to achieve the credentials they earlier missed.

Increased use of the public library does not necessarily mean any enhancement of its image as an educational institution. Such a change must come essentially from within the profession itself and ways of bringing about that change will be considered later. But external reinforcing efforts will continue to come from other adult educational agencies.[2] Indeed it is highly likely that they will increase. The library authorities who make policy and provide service will thus be given an opportunity to work as partners with their counterparts in other agencies, partners strengthening each other's programs as well as providing collaborative ventures which meet the needs of the people. Support can be tangible as well as verbal. When the public library seeks an increased tax rate, the passage of a bond issue,

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[1]Carol L. Kronos, "Patterns of Adult Library Use: A Regressionand Path Analysis," Adult Education, 23 (Winter, 1973), 129

[2]The Appendix sketches some of the major present relationships between the public library and other community educational institutions.

or a special grant of funds, it will have supporters it never could count on before and it, in turn, will be able to give help to other institutions when they seek added financial assistance.

Several expressions by national commissions of the growth of non-traditional education were summarized earlier in this paper. While such groups operate at a high policy level, their dicta often have a profound influence on state and community processes. It may be helpful, therefore, to return to one of them and examine more closely than before its observations concerning the public library. The Commission on Non-Traditional Study, a group of 26 educators of whom only one was affiliated with librarianship though not himself a member of the profession, produced a widely-discussed report, Diversity by Design,[1] which addressed itself to the development of a broader educational system. One of the 57 recommendations in this book was: "The public library should be strengthened to become a far more powerful instrument for non-traditional education than is now the case." Because of the personal and professional distinction of most of the members of this Commission and the subsequent impact of its recommendations in other respects, its comments deserve quotation at some length:

> This recommendation is directed not only to public officials and public librarians themselves but also to college and university faculty members and administrators who could work productively with them in developing non-traditional study opportunities at the postsecondary level. Public libraries have too long been regarded as passive conveyors of information or recreation, available when needed, but not playing,

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[1] op. cit., 82-85. Italics in original.

> or expected to play, active roles in the educational process. Their vast capabilities have often been ignored. In truth, the public library is literally a college around the corner. . . . It is a free institution where the individual has open access to great quantities of information. It exists in great numbers, possesses the materials of knowledge, has a public service staff, and is a referral point to other resources within the educational network. . . .
>
> As non-traditional study progresses, it will create problems but also enhance opportunities for public libraries. Demands for books and other materials and for help in finding them will grow. Interlibrary collaboration will increase and a large number of multicounty and other area libraries will probably be necessary. Changes in library architecture may be required to provide study centers, meeting rooms, and carrels. Librarians will have to counsel not only the students of programs but also their planners. Multi-system borrowers' cards may be necessary, and this fact will give rise to changes in fiscal support. Conflicts over goals will be sharpened; those who favor the library as a cultural center or as a place for undirected reading, recreation, and information-giving may feel threatened, particularly if budgets are not increased to make possible the achievement of all desired aims.
>
> If the problems encountered in these programs can be solved - if the necessary funds are forthcoming, if staffs are prepared, information is disseminated, coordination is provided, and educators are made aware of potentialities for service - then libraries will no longer be merely extensions of educational programs but active planners and collaborators in them. The aim of public libraries to provide unlimited knowledge is in total harmony with the aim of non-traditional education: to provide unlimited opportunity. The possibility for joining the two should not be permitted to pass by quietly.

The Use of Active Reinforcements.- If public librarians wish to consider themselves as educators and to be so considered by other people, they can do many things to bring that result about. One must put that comment in the conditional mode, since it is far from clear that most librarians do, in fact, wish to serve as guides, mentors, discussion leaders, or occupants of any other roles that connote the provision or the supplementation of learning. Both Margaret Monroe and Jerome Cushman may have

been right in the elegiac mood of their earlier-reported writings, many a librarian heaved a sigh of relief at the shift from "adult education" to the vague and meaningless term "adult services," and the bland and ambiguous term "continuing education" is not often used to denote an active guiding policy.

But while no recent head-count has been taken to discover the wishes of all public librarians, the literature of the field clearly shows that at least some library trustees, staff members, and government officials are determined that the institution shall become a powerful force in the emerging field of non-traditional study. The following suggestions designed to lead to that end are far from comprehensive but it is hoped that they will be practically useful.

In thinking about education, librarians, trustees, and others should abandon the traditional fixation on the class-room format and consider instead a re-definition of education which takes account of broader conceptions, such as those suggested by the Faure report, the Commission on Non-Traditional Study, and other recent sources. The very title, Diversity by Design, could be as evocative of a public library's approach as to that of a college or university. One ex-librarian, Chairman Mao, said "Let many flowers bloom" and perhaps his fellow professionals should follow his dictum. A Strategy for Public Library Change has urged that:

> . . .a publication should be commissioned which will be an eloquent statement to direct widespread attention to the American public library as an active community agent capable of meeting the real needs of real people today and in the future. This should be presented in layman's language,

> designed to capture the attention and imagination of the public at the same time that it synthesizes the concerns of librarians and governing bodies of all types of libraries.[1]

Such a statement would be highly desirable and not least of all because it would serve as an interpretive guide to librarians and library school students who are less advanced in their thinking than the sponsors of the Strategy statement.

Long-range plans, carefully phased and with target goals should be established by local libraries, systems, and state agencies after careful study. Such plans will then need to be modified as experience shows their practicality. As earlier pages have shown, sharp division exists, concerning goals, no clear national policy concerning them is apparent, and probably none should be. The staff may start with goals and then work out their implications, begin with modes of educational service and then let an over-arching philosophy evolve, or start from either end and work toward the middle.[2] In any case, for reasons already made clear, the practical planning of specific programs is essential.

In the administration of library systems, ways must be found to recognize and reward innovative effort in accordance with the over-all plan adopted. In times of change like these, initiative should be highly prized. This fact is true of both the employing library and of the varous associations, local, district, state, regional, and national. The key individual in carrying out this

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[1] op. cit., 50

[2] Cyril O. Houle, The Design of Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972, 186-219.

recommendation is usually the director of the library or of the system since it is he or she who can establish the patterns of reward and recognition within the employing institution and who is usually also powerful in general library circles. But the profession must also exhibit a great deal of tolerance for individualism. Sometimes innovators are little influenced by the opinions of their colleagues. In his essay, "The Bad-Humor Man," Jesse Shera has celebrated the idiosyncratic librarian. He concludes the listing of a number of vivid examples by the observation that "for their single-mindedness of purpose, their unwillingness to compromise with their ideals, and their unswerving devotion to professional objectives, they will be remembered long after every committee of the ALA has mouldered in its paper shroud."[1]

A new and vigorous national leadership is already initiating the development of diverse educational functions. It is to be found in some of the library associations, in the enterprise of federal officials in the U. S. Office of Education and the National Endowment for the Humanities, in the Council of Library Resources, in the College Entrance Examination Board, and in some state library agencies. All these institutions deserve applause for what they have done and should be urged to continue their good work, which should also be emulated by others. In particular, either the federal government or some major foundation might well ponder the goals which Congress established for the Fund

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[1]Jesse H. Shera, "The Compleat Librarian" and Other Essays Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971. 15

for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education and note how admirably they would (with minor changes in wording) fit the needs of innovative public libraries. In establishing that Fund, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to make grants for these purposes:

> (1) encouraging the reform, innovation, and improvement of postsecondary education, and providing equal educational opportunity for all;
> (2) the creation of institutions and programs involving new paths to career and professional training, and new combinations of academic and experimental learning;
> (3) the establishment of institutions and programs based on the technology of communications;
> (4) the carrying out in postsecondary educational institutions of changes in internal structure and operations designed to clarify institutional priorities and purposes;
> (5) the design and introduction of cost-effective methods of instruction and operation;
> (6) the introduction of institutional reforms designed to expand individual opportunities for entering and reentering institutions and pursuing programs of study tailored to individual needs;
> (7) the introduction of reforms in graduate education, in the structure of academic professions, and in the recruitment and retention of faculties; and
> (8) the creation of new institutions and programs for examining and awarding credentials to individuals, and the introduction of reforms in current institutional practices related thereto.[1]

A much greater unilteral, bilateral, and multilateral collaboration than now exists should be encouraged, as should membership and leadership in adult educational associations. Collaboration has been stressed throughout this paper, since the laying of a formal groundwork of mutual effort is often essential if the talents of the library staff are to be effectively combined with those of workers in other agencies. The central idea of the communiversity is interaction, and non-traditional study cannot

[1]Public Law 92-318, 92nd Congress, 1972. Title II, Part A

flower without it. Despite the obvious values of actual or potential collaboration described or suggested on earlier pages, it seems likely that in recent years practicing librarians may, on the whole, have moved more toward separatism than toward community involvement.

Certainly this fact is true of the membership and activity of librarians in national, state, and local associations of adult educators. From the early 1920s to the mid-1960s, librarians were at the heart of the adult educational movement and then, relatively rapidly, they disappeared. Only anecdotal evidence is available to support this point, but it is worth noting all the same. The nominees for office in the national Adult Education Association are seldom librarians. At two recent state association banquets, one with about 500 people and the other with about 340, two public librarians were in attendance at the first and only one at the second. A multi-institutional group in a large city which had been called together to plan a foundation-sponsored program did not include anybody from the public library, one which is nationally famous among librarians. When an outside consultant asked the cause, a stunned silence followed and it turned out that the library had simply never come to mind. In A Strategy for Public Library Change, one state librarian is quoted as saying explosively "we are invisible!"[1] He and his colleagues will remain in that unhappy state if they do not go where they can be seen. Even worse, non-traditional education will be denied the leadership such people might give.

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[1]op. cit., 28

It has sometimes been argued that public libraries are essential as educational instruments when other provisions are scanty but that later on they are no longer so necessary. Ronald Benge seems to lend credence to this point of view when he observes that "In Britain in the past, many people who did not have higher education opportunities 'educated' themselves in the public library. At the present time their modern counterparts receive a university education, and the educational function of the public library has to this extent changed."[1] Actually, as he observes elsewhere, the chief change is one of growth for, as has been demonstrated earlier in this paper, the chief factor associated with library use is the extent of formal education. More than that, it is not historically correct that well-developed libraries are the first institutions of adult education to emerge in advancing societies. Brilliant examples exist or have existed in which a well-stocked and professionally-staffed library was the shining light of an otherwise under-developed country, every seat in the reading-room being filled with serious adult readers, each pursuing an independent course of study under the guidance of the librarian. But a truer picture of the actual nature of public libraries in such situations may be found in Lester Asheim's Librarianship in the Developing Countries,[2] where

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[1]Ronald C. Benge, Libraries and Cultural Change London: Clive Bingley, 1970. 237

[2]Lester Asheim, Librarianship in the Developing Countries. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966.

the absence of communications materials or of people who could use them effectively is graphically documented.

Collaboration among library systems is important in diffusing knowledge about creative programs. The CEEB project may prove to be a landmark in this respect. A great deal of informal reporting of new ventures and programs goes on at meetings or in journal reports. State library agencies often have consultants who can help individuals or systems solve their problems, such consultants depending in part on a knowledge of how such problems have been solved elsewhere. But public librarians may wish to observe the progress of Nexus, a project initiated in 1974 by the American Association for Higher Education. If successful, Nexus might prove at least a partial model for public libraries. It has been briefly described as follows:

> Are you starting a new program and wondering if it's been done before? Do you need to know something fast about a nontraditional approach to post-secondary education: where it's happening, who's involved, how it's working? If so, call Nexus. . . .Chances are it can help and it's free; all you pay is the phone bill. . .Nexus operates like a telephone switchboard, connecting individuals who need information to start or improve a program in postsecondary education with people who have experience in that area. It's set up to provide greater access to information in postsecondary education, to shorten the time needed for significant programs and ideas to circulate, to inform individuals of others developing similar programs, and to give accurate, up-to-date information on new programs to anyone who needs it.[1]

Another development in postsecondary education which might deserve emulation in the public library field is a comprehensive national directory of innovative programs in undergraduate education. This volume lists 3,000 programs in 100 subjects and

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[1]"Nexus: Open for Business," College and University Bulletin, 26 (February, 1974), 1.

cross-disciplinary fields and was developed by the Cornell University Center for the Improvement of Undergraduate Education.[1] While such catalogs are often dismissed as "laundry lists," they may play a useful part in the diffusion of ideas.

The continuing education of practicing librarians by many and subtle means is essential to any sustained effort to make a success of non-traditional education. As with every other professional worker, librarians must keep up with changing times by a continuous and recurrent program of education, particularly since so many of them were trained as technicians. R. Charbonneau once observed "Il faut donc considérer le bibliotécaire comme un éducateur d'adultes et non comme un simple technicien qui assure la classification et la conservation des livres."[2] ("It is necessary then to consider the librarian as an educator of adults and not as a simple technician who takes care of the classification and conservation of books.") To carry out this dictum fully requires not merely a few simple courses or lectures but determined and complex efforts by libraries, associations, state library agencies, library schools and other university departments, and the staffs of agencies engaged in collaboration with libraries. Avant-garde groups must be formed to discuss the frontiers of progress. The diffusion of innovation must proceed in its usual

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[1] The Yellow Pages of Undergraduate Innovations New Rochelle, N.Y.: Educational Change, Inc., 1974.

[2] R. Charbonneau, "Le bibliothécaire, un éducateur d'adultes" Education des adultes (Montreal), no. 15, 1964, 82

pattern of acceptance by pace-setters and then gradual and progressive adoption by other practitioners. Much of this continuing education will be carried out jointly with collaborating agencies and, in the process, librarians must be teachers as well as learners.

Virtually all essays which call for changes in a profession suggest drastic alterations in the pre-service curriculum, the general theory seeming to be that rivers should be purified at their sources. The current literature on public librarianship is no exception, urging everything from drastic revisions to minor tinkerings. Virtually all of this literature, however, is based on the assumption that librarianship is a separatist institution-based occupation (like school teaching or business administration) and that the student must get a thorough grounding in the work he or she will do within that setting as it operates independently and not be deeply concerned with collaboration with other professionals or the organizations and associations in which they work. In this respect, librarianship is very much like other professions. The physician, for example, is taught in medical school what he or she must know how to do and is not given (at least not until recently) a general introduction into all the ramifications of health care and an awareness of the roles of the other health professionals.

More profoundly, it should be noted that professional schools can either reflect practice or initiate it. Usually they do the first. The beginner is not taught the intricacies of what the advanced specialist knows. When the actions of the

top quartile of the practitioners indicate that a new idea has been fairly well established, the innovators on the faculty find sufficient support to include it in the curriculum. Occasionally an innovator is found on the faculty of a professional school - this fact has certainly been true in librarianship - and the students of such a person may eventually have profound influence despite the fact that the purity of their broad vision tends to be corrupted by the details of practice and the acculturation of colleagues educated in an earlier day.

Of the literature which deals with how librarians should be educated for broadly-based adult education, there is no end. Perhaps the most useful treatment of the subject is a small brochure Training Needs of Librarians Doing Adult Education Work which grew out of a conference of national leaders on that subject held in 1954. With clarity and straightforwardness, the conferees worked out a set of recommendations which are still as good as they ever were and to which a modern conference, though it might use a different terminology, would be hard put to find substantive additions.[1] A somewhat more technical treatment and one with an excellent bibliography was presented by a committee under the chairmanship of C. Walter Stone.[2] These materials and other references cited in this paper might well be

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[1] Lester Asheim, Training Needs of Librarians Doing Adult Education Work Chicago: American Library Association, 1955.

[2] Needs for Improvement of Professional Education in Library and Information Sciences. Syracuse: Center for the Study of Information and Education, Syracuse University. undated.

the source material for a stimulating course in the preparation of public librarians. In the long run, however, the professional school curriculum reflects the field of practice, and library schools will probably not change very greatly until the public libraries have worked out, demonstrated, and established the innovations of which they are capable.

Anoter prescription for virtually every institutional ill is better public relations, though it is not clear how often cures have been effected by this means. However, public librarians have, in the lore of their profession, one of the most skillful examples of effective publicity ever known. As Mr. Dooley said, in the last century:

> "All th' same, I like Andhrew Carnegie. Him an' me ar-re agreed on that point. I like him because he ain't shamed to give publicly. Ye don't find him puttin' on false whiskers an' turnin' up his coat-collar whin he goes out to be benivolent. No, sir. Ivry time he dhrops a dollar it makes a noise like a waither fallin' down-stairs with a tray iv dishes. . .I like Andhrew Carnaygie, an', as he says, he puts his whole soul into th' wurruk."
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> "What's he mane be that?" asked Mr. Hennessy.
>
> "He manes," said Mr. Dooley, "that he's gin'rous. Ivry time he gives a libry he gives himsilf away in a speech."[1]

Even as late as 1935, when the Carnegie Corporation had greatly broadened the base of its giving, the Secretary of the Corporation complained that "many librarians and a large part of the educated public, believe that the Corporation was established by Mr. Carnegie solely for the benefit and control of libraries and librarians."[2]

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[1]Quoted by Bobkinski, op. cit., 13

[2]Robert M. Lester, "Libraries and librarians: From the Side of the Road," ALA Bulletin, 29 (August, 1935), 462

How can the public library change its image so that it is seen by everyone to be an educational agency? The answer is often to list and describe all the techniques by which attention is captured and assent assured. But, with minor refinements, these techniques have been known and used for a half-century with surprisingly little effect. The answer must lie deeper and in some subtle conception of image-changing. Perhaps a few principles might be suggested. The image must mirror the reality. (Mr. Carnegie did give away millions of dollars for library buildings.) The message must be clear and understandable, even though it is capable of infinite variation in style and form as it is repeated in various ways over many years. (His was.) The efforts of collaborators must be used to reinforce the library's message. (Cities and citizen groups went to great lengths to secure the grants.) The public librarians must themselves believe in what they are saying. (What librarian would not ardently desire a new and more adequate building?) As soon as possible, formal agreements should be reached - and they must be agreements which can stand the ravages of time. (Carnegie drove shrewd and lasting bargains with city officials bound by law to keep their word to him.) And then comes time for the speech-making - in all of the thousands of variations which modern public authorities can devise.

A Concluding Note.- With the working out of complex patterns of service by public libraries both independently and in collaboration with other institutions and the resulting involvement of many more citizens in ever deeper programs, the conception of the public

library as an educational institution seems likely to become both broader and more widely understood by librarians and by the citizens of the communities they serve. No millenium is at hand and the future will bring bad news as well as good. But as the learning society, already far advanced, becomes ever more established, public libraries will be found to have a more and more profound place in its accomplishments.

Bibliography

No separate bibliography is presented here since several comprehensive bibliographies covering the literature through 1972 are available. Of these, the most relevant to public library policy and innovation is presented in A Strategy for Public Library Change. The broad field of non-traditional education is covered in Diversity by Design and of degree-granting programs in The External Degree. A more general bibliography on the processes of adult education is provided in The Design of Education. These sources have been cited earlier. Sources more recent than 1972 are given in foot-notes throughout the paper and some of the books and articles cited also provide comprehensive bibliographies covering the topics with which they deal.

Appendix

While primary attention in this paper is devoted to the public library, its place in the network of the total range of adult educational services and perhaps eventually in the communiversity can be understood only in terms of its interaction with the other organizations and associations with which its work is or could be related. In this Appendix, a brief account will be given of the most generally available institutions and how they have sometimes been related bi-laterally to the library in providing education for men and women. Only a rough sketch can be attempted. Detailed accounts and comprehensive inclusiveness would require a much lengthier treatment than is possible here, particularly since the picture varies so greatly in terms of place and time. The newer thrusts of interactive services will be omitted since they have been suggested in the body of this paper.

The university, a highly complex and varied institution, may have no formally organized and continuous adult educational programs as such, but if not it is virtually certain to sponsor many occasional conferences or other activities. Its faculty members also occupy leadership positions in independent ventures not sponsored by the institution, giving lectures and taking part in seminars, meetings, short courses, writing for non-technical audiences, and engaging in other forms of interaction with the world outside the university. The general extension movement, though it has roots deep in the nineteenth century did not flower until the twentieth. This movement was based on a desire to extend the university's entire offering to the adults of the community. Another movement, with even deeper roots, is the agricultural extension service which, after a seventy-five-year period of perfection of its methods, achieved federal support in 1914 and subsequently broadened its base to serve all citizens, not just farmers. Other professional schools developed their own programs, and gradually the campus has come to have many adult educational units, sometimes co-ordinated at the vice-presidential level, sometimes not. The major channels of service are provided through off-campus centers and courses, short-term residential conferences and short courses, correspondence instruction, and use of the mass media, though an astonishingly large variety of other specialized programs have also been worked out.

The university and the public library have traditionally had several relationships. The most widespread has probably been the provision by the library of the books and other communications materials needed in community-based courses or in other forms of service. Sometimes such materials were loaned to a deposit-station by the library and sometimes the library itself became a study-center. A second major service has been the

provision by the university of continuing education for librarians, in either professional courses or in the broadening of the knowledge of subject-matter.

The college, particularly one which offers a baccalaureate in the liberal arts, and may offer a master's degree in one or more fields, such as education or music, has been an educational force in the adult community by merely existing in it and by opening cultural activities to the adults who lived nearby. However, pioneering faculty members and administrators often undertake special missions or forays into the outside world to serve either the general community or specialized groups such as labor leaders, teachers, or men in the armed services. Separate colleges or curricula based on professions, such as mining, education, or religion, have usually developed specialized relationships with the practicing members of the occupation concerned, offering both continuing and recurrent education. Many colleges are now turning to more general and widespread adult education because of the declining enrollment of the young people they have traditionally served.

In those situations in which the college and the public library have been partners, the relationship has typically been one of friendly collaboration in cultural ventures rather than of any formal or deep-seated interaction. The similarity of interest of the two institutions has been recognized by the leaders of both and each has helped the other whenever it could - by promoting one another's activities, by serving as co-sponsors of cultural events, and sometimes by a pooling or an interactive use of one another's materials. Libraries have also often used college leadership in book-based programs and discussion groups.

The community college has sprung from many sources: off-campus centers of universities; independent institutions created to offer the first two years of the baccalaureate program; technical institutes; finishing schools; religious education centers; and four-year colleges which have reduced the scope of their programs. Since World War II, however, the institution has emerged as a broadly-based center, offering many curricula and strongly oriented to the needs of the population base in which it has its roots and for whom it provided services. In fact "community service" has both broad and specific implications for the institution. In the broad sense, everything it is and does is for the benefit of the community. More directly, it works with the adult population (either on the campus or in the field) to serve the educational and cultural needs of men and women, offering them basic, continuing, and (less frequently) recurrent education. Originally the curriculum was restricted to that appropriate to an institution of higher learning but gradually the range of content is broadening to include literacy courses and many other elementary and secondary school services.

The older community colleges have worked with the public library in a fashion similar to that of the college. The newer and more comprehensive institutions have embarked upon many collaborative ventures but the general nature of the emerging relationship is still far from clear and will take time to become established. In a sense, the community college and the public library are similar in their scope and ambition, both institutions tending to take all knowledge and the whole community to be their province. A very great potential for collaboration exists but as yet it has appeared only sporadically.

The public schools have concentrated their adult education in several areas: basic education, which ordinarily means general preparation from literacy through high school completion and may include preparation for American citizenship; vocational education, of a basic, continuing, or (less often) recurrent character; and broadly-based cultural, crafts, and practical subjects. The first two have been characteristic of city-based schools and the third of suburban schools, but the division is not a clean-cut one. In recent years, the growth of the community colleges has reduced or extinguished public school adult educational activities since the community colleges are newer and they may have superior physical facilities and a more substantial financial base. In the relationship between these two institutions lies one of the major problem areas of the emerging communiversity.

In the relationship of the public schools to the public library, at least two major theories have long been advanced and sometimes tried but have usually been found wanting. As noted in the paper itself, some people believe that the school and the public library should be combined into a single institution but, despite occasional successes, this conception has never worked out well in practice, perhaps because the school administrators and policy makers, who were usually dominant, could not fully comprehend and support the library's work, perhaps because adults have been alienated by their experiences in school and therefore will not use the library if it is in a school setting. Another major conception is that the two institutions should remain separate but be effectively co-ordinated from top to bottom, the central authorities enforcing a neighborhood-by-neighborhood collaboration. Despite elaborate design this theory has worked no better than the first. The result has been, therefore, that where collaboration exists, it tends to be unilateral, initiated and maintained by one of the two organizations, usually the public library, which promotes the work of the school, counsels adults about where they can find the courses they desire, and, most significantly, provides both basic and supplementary learning materials for the courses which the school offers.

The museum is usually an assemblage of objects which are individually unique or which have been brought together in a collection or display in which the separate pieces enhance one

another, or some general principle or phenomenon is demonstrated. In some cases, as in the national parks, the museum is not assembled but especially designed and built. The major adult educational activity of the museum is the display of its objects, though instruction may be only one of the principles which guides such display, others being the showing of the museum's most valuable items, the demonstration of comprehensiveness of coverage, the reward for the generosity of donors, the special interests of curators, and the need for novelty so that patrons will return again and again. Other educational activities may include lectures, conducted tours, travelling or outpost collections, special displays and performances, and a host of other methods.

Museums and libraries have certain resemblances which often cause them to be lumped together as being in the same category. Their purposes broadly stated are the same: education, information, aesthetic enjoyment, recreation, and research. Their ways of work are fundamentally different, however, a difference which springs most profoundly from the library patron's depth of personal interaction with the collection, which he may usually handle and work with directly and most of which he can take into his home, office, or other convenient learning location. Nonetheless libraries and museums have long worked together, sometimes being in the same or adjacent buildings. In their bi-lateral or unilateral collaboration, the librarian ordinarily takes the initiative to provide support, assistance and reinforcement materials. Because the public library is a far more flexible educational agency than the museum, the services that the former can provide are greater than those that can be made available by the latter.

A proprietary school is one which is organized for profit and usually offers instruction either directly or by correspondence. Sometimes it is hard to draw a line between a school organized for profit and one which is not, since important tax benefits may accrue to the latter and, if it is successful, it can pay its board members and officers very high salaries without encountering any serious difficulties. Proprietary schools have grown very rapidly in number, in enrollment, and in prestige during recent years and now make up an important force. While their programs are broad, their customary curricula are heavily vocational.

While public libraries have always been as ready to serve the students in proprietary schools as in any other forms of institution, that service has chiefly been on an individualistic basis and people served have not bulked large in the total clientele of the library. In part, this fact is true because proprietary schools often make a substantial part of their profit from the sale of specialized instructional materials and therefore cause the student to place a heavy reliance upon

the text book or study-kit approach to learning. In terms of formal institutional arrangements, few public libraries have become closely associated with proprietary schools. This situation may change, however, with the growing respectability of some of these institutions and with their acceptance for accreditation by various educational authorities.

The armed forces have always relied very heavily upon education but have ordinarily provided their own programs (including libraries) for it. The importance of education has recently increased greatly with the development of a wholly volunteer recruitment policy, particularly since many people join the army, navy, air force, marines, or coast guard because they are thereby given an opportunity for education which would otherwise be denied. Just what effect this new policy may have on the total military educational program remains to be seen. It should be noted, however, that while the armed services have their own specialized curricula dealing largely with the waging of war, much concern is also expressed for the achievement of formal educational credentials, such as a high school diploma or a college degree, and with occupational endeavors which are closely related to those used in civilian life. In 1974, several major decisions, the chief of which was the closing of the United States Armed Forces Institute, began a process of profound change in military-sponsored programs.

The relationships of public libraries to the education provided by the armed forces have been spotty and largely determined by the location of the library and the military base. Libraries have usually tried hard to help servicemen as individuals and in some cases, particularly when military stations were too small to maintain their own libraries, some formal or informal relationship has ordinarily been worked out. No general pattern of collaboration has yet been evolved, however.

In business and industry, training and education at all levels is achieving increasing importance as processes of manufacture, sale, and service become more complex, as research and development grow more pervasive and subtle, and as competition becomes keener. Most businesses and industries have training programs, some of which have grown enormously complex. And specialized libraries are commonly found in most industrial establishments, though in the smaller ones "the library" may be only a shelf of books.

In some cases, however, public libraries have taken over the function of providing library service for an industry or a business, particularly in towns which are dominated by a single company or where the work is carried out by a number of independent enterprises. Even where formal arrangements do not exist, the business and industrial collection of many libraries is substantial, and the books and other materials are used on a

systematic basis by the officials and workers of the community. The public library also offers a safeguard against the specialism of the special library. Many people who work for a company want to leave its employment, and more than a few want to leave the field in which it works. Such men and women require the openness and breadth of a public library's collection if they are to find the resources they require to prepare themselves for the transition which they would like to make.

Labor unions have not been noted in the United States for either the intensity or the breadth of their educational programs nor the support of their own libraries. Some national or international unions (such as in the clothing or automotive trades) have maintained major programs for their leadership cadres and even for their rank-and-file members, the curriculum usually concentrating heavily on practical subjects such as collective bargaining techniques, time-and-motion studies, and the methods of organizing and sustaining membership. A few unions have accepted the responsibility of educating their membership on broad social policy issues or offering opportunities for cultural enrichment.

In some places public libraries have been able to help labor unions achieve their industrial and commercial goals or their broad social objectives and, in the last half century, many librarians have sought (with varying success) to work directly with either the leaders or the membership of labor unions, hoping thereby to enlarge and diversify the body of patrons who use the library.

Religious institutions exist, usually in profusion, in most communities and all of them have their own educational programs for their membership and sometimes for the general community, with substantial and, to each of them, crucial differences in emphasis and belief. Most of them provide their own textual material, often prepared by a national denomination, which gives the doctrinal views of the religion which each professes. In some cases religious groups also have modest collections of books, though these seldom, except in organizations which have a primary educational function such as a Bible institute, have full-fledged libraries.

While religious institutions generally support the idea of the public library, except in those rare cases where it is enbattled because of a censorship problem, the formal relationship between public libraries and the normal doctrinal educational activities of religious institutions - such as sermons, Bible classes, and prayer meeting groups - is minimal. Some religious institutions also offer more formal educational programs than those which are involved with their ritualistic activity, however, and in these cases public libraries may serve as one of the chief sources for books.

Health and welfare agencies are so diverse that nothing can be said generally about their provision of education, including library service. Hospitals may have special collections for their employees and may have a patient library as well. Other health agencies - such as those which have to do with a specific category of diseases - and welfare agencies may have both professional and client library services. In the latter case, specialized materials produced by commercial or governmental sources may be widely used to give information about either general subjects, such as diet, or special problem areas, such as therapy for a particular disease or ways of handling a special kind of welfare problem.

Public libraries contain a great many materials which deal with health and welfare and thereby supplement the information issued by the agencies especially concerned with these subjects. Generally speaking, however, formal relationships have not been worked out to bring the various institutions into any multi-lateral or bi-lateral relationships.

Custodial institutions include a number of different kinds of adults: those incarcerated because they have committed some crime; those resident in asylums, sanitariums, or other institutions of long-term physical or mental illness; and older citizens too infirm to care for themselves physically. While many of these institutions have educational programs, the services rendered may be of only a token character and often the people in the custody of such institutions have little or no opportunity other than that which they create themselves if they have the financial resources to learn whatever it is they would like to know.

Recognizing the difficulty which custodial institutions sometimes have in providing their own programs, many of the other institutions of adult education have tried to be of assistance, offering courses either directly or by correspondence and, in the case of libraries, making books available by means of loan collections or bookmobile services. As yet, however, such efforts as these are far from universal.

The mass media have some responsibility for public enlightenment which they discharge to a greater or lesser degree. Leaving aside, for the moment, the powerful national networks, the manufacturers of film, and the widespread creators and distributors of books and magazines, the local community also has its means of mass dissemination of ideas and information. Chiefly they include the newspaper (which, in large cities at least, is beginning to resemble a daily magazine) and the local radio and television stations. The non-commercial broadcast media and even a few stations which support themselves with advertising revenues give a great deal of attention to education

but even the most blatantly money-seeking avenues of communication have some responsibility for public service.

The public libraries have taken advantage of this fact largely for public relations activities, getting out press releases tied to an exhibit or to some other topical event. Book talks are delivered or feature articles are prepared and various meetings at the library are "covered," if they escape the editor's spike. News or feature reporters may call upon the reference librarian to secure factual information. A truly collaborative, sustained, and wholly educational effort between mass media and public libraries, however, is rare. The "Great Issues" program and a few other examples might be noted but the potential for joint effort remains largely untapped.

Many substantive government departments not included above incorporate education as part of their programs and this fact is true at all levels of government. A recent study[1] has shown, for example, that, at the time of the audit in late 1971, there were 143 federal programs with extension, continuing education, and community service features and that they were spread throughout the full spectrum of the government, including, for example, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Department of Transportation. These programs call for a federal expenditure of more than four billion dollars. Even so, this tally did not include the work of the Department of Defense in educating military and civilian personnel. In addition, all of the services provided by state, county, and local governments must be added.

The place of public libraries in this enormous complex of services is too intricate and varied to be disentangled here. Many programs have their own publication programs and may even maintain their own libraries. Others rely on the public libraries of the communities in which their programs are located. The nature of the inter-relationships differs greatly from one place to another and depends very heavily upon the local circumstances and the personalities involved.

Voluntary associations pervade the American community and are, perhaps, the chief major instrument for the advancement of both special interests and social causes. Some associations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, have moved very far away from the original meaning of an association as a small group of interacting individuals; in some communities, at least, the YMCA is a sponsor of many services, with education as a major central function, and is no longer in any real sense an association

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[1] A Question of Stewardship. Sixth Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education issed by the Council, March 31, 1972.

at all. This same fact is true of many other groups which began as small struggling enterprises and have now progressed into major social entities. Other voluntary associations are still dominated by the sense of a common cause. These associations may be in harmony or in conflict with one another as is the case, for example, with those who argue for family planning as they confront those who believe in "the right to life." Many associations, such as the P.T.A., have achieved enormous size. A large number have education as their only goal or as their dominant purpose and often support themselves in part by the publication of their own special materials. Still other voluntary associations are small clubs which come into being among people with congenial interests and remain in existence only so long as that congeniality can be maintained.

Public libraries often work with voluntary associations, particularly those which are made up of middle-class members and which have purposes not likely to be offensive to the general community or to require unsuitably large allocations of the libraries' resources. Some libraries have voluntary associations of their own, designed to advance the cause of the library or of the programs which it may be sponsoring. A few librarians have used voluntary associations as ways of extending the influence of the library either by requiring each staff member to belong and take an active part in one or more associations or by having a public relations program in which the needs of the library are expressed by one of its representatives at meetings of the association.

Other institutions could be listed almost without number. One of the characteristics of American life is its fertility in creating new forms of social organization, most of which profess education as one of their purposes. Among them are especially endowed schools, settlement houses, community centers, independently sponsored residential continuing education units, and special institutes built around the personality of one or a group of people.

With these institutions the public library may or may not have affiliations and contacts. In every community, however, there is a challenge for such a relationship to be created, either formally or informally, so that these special and localized ventures can be brought within the network of comprehensive community service.